

QUINTUS CURTIUS

H I S

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

W A R S *of Alexander.*

To which is prefix'd

FREINSHEMIUS's Supplement.

Translated by JOHN DIGBY, Esq;

V O L. II.

The T H I R D E D I T I O N.

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A Map
of the Expeditions of
ALEXANDER GREAT
in Europe Asia &
Africa





QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K VII.

C H A P. I.

AS the soldiers thought Philotas duly punish'd while his crime was fresh in their memory, so after the object of their hatred was remov'd, their malice turn'd to pity. They ^{we}re now touch'd with the rank and dignity of the ^{yo}uth as well as his father's old age and desolation in being destitute of issue. He had open'd the king a passage into Asia, and had shar'd in all his dangers; moreover he always us'd to command one of the wings of the army in a general engagement. He had been Philip's chiefest favourite, and had shewn himself so faithful to Alexander, that he made use of no other person in the taking off Attalus. These thoughts came into the minds of the army, and their seditious expressions were brought to the king, who was not in the least mov'd thereat, as knowing very well that the vices of idleness were easily cur'd by action. He therefore gave orders for a general appearance before his palace. Here Apharias (no
A 2 doubt

doubt as it had been before concerted) desir'd that Lyncestes Alexander (who stood accus'd of having had a design to kill the king, a considerable time before Philotas) might be brought to judgment. Two persons had inform'd against him, and it was now the third year of his imprisonment on that account. It was also certain he had conspir'd with Pausanias, against Philip; but he having being the first that saluted Alexander king, his punishment had rather been suspended than he clear'd. Besides, the king had had some deference to the intercession of Antipater, his father-in-law. But now the resentment that had lain dormant, was reviv'd, and the solicitude for the present danger had renew'd the memory of the past. Alexander was therefore brought forth, and commanded to make his defence, which he had been three years preparing; but being in the utmost confusion, he with difficulty pronounced some part of what he had so long meditated, till at last both his memory and mind fail'd him. All were of opinion, that this disorder proceeded from his guilty conscience, and not from any defect of memory; whereupon some of those that stood next him, run him through as he was still labouring with his forgetfulness. His body being carry'd off, the king commanded " Amyntas and Simmias to be likewise " brought forth; " for Polemon, the youngest of the brothers, was fled, upon Philotas's being put to the torture. These had been Philotas's most intimate friends, having by his interest been advanc'd to honourable employments; and the king now call'd to mind, how zealous Philotas had been in promoting them, and therefore did not doubt, " but they were " also privy to this last plot." So that he told the assembly, " that his mother had long since warn'd " him by letters, to have a special care of 'em. But " as he was not in his nature prone to put the worst

“ construction upon things, he had suspended his
 “ jealousy till now, that he was convinc’d by overt-
 “ acts ; upon which he had order’d them to be bound.
 “ For it was certain they had had private conferences
 “ with Philotas the day before his treason was dis-
 “ cover’d. That his brother’s making his escape
 “ when Philotas was tortur’d, was a sufficient detec-
 “ tion of the cause of his flight. Moreover, they
 “ had lately (contrary to custom, under the pretext
 “ of officiousness) remov’d the rest at a greater dis-
 “ tance, and plac’d themselves near his person, with-
 “ out any probable ground for such proceeding: So
 “ that being surpriz’d at this their behaviour, (es-
 “ pecially out of their time of waiting) and alarm’d
 “ at their unusual diligence, he had thought fit to
 “ retire to his guards. To all which may be added,
 “ that when Antiphanes, agent of the horse, re-
 “ quir’d Amyntas (the day before Philotas’s plot
 “ came to light) to supply with some of his horses
 “ (as is usual) such as had lost theirs, he made him
 “ this haughty answer :” that if he did not desist from
 his demands, he should in a little time know who he
 had to deal with. “ Besides the intemperance of
 “ their tongues, and the rash undecent expressions
 “ they us’d concerning him, were so many plain in-
 “ dications of their inveterate malice against him ;
 “ all which charges, if true, they deserve the same
 “ punishment that Philotas had. If they are not true,
 “ he required they should clear themselves.

The king having finish’d his speech, Antiphanes
 gave an account of “ Amyntas’s refusing of the
 “ horses, and of his haughty menacing answer.”
 After which, Amyntas being allow’d to speak for
 himself, said, “ if the king be not prejudic’d there-
 “ by, I desire, that while I plead, I may be un-
 “ bound : ” which the king immediately granted “ to
 “ them both ; ” and Amyntas begging that he might

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“ also

also be allow'd " the usual marks of his office," the king order'd " his pike to be restor'd him." Then having taken the same in his left-hand, and removing to some distance from the place where Lyncestes's body had lain a little before, he spoke to this effect :
" Be our lot what it will, Sir, we must now
" confess, that if it be prosperous, we stand indebted
" to your bounty for it; if it be fatal, we shall im-
" pute it wholly to fortune. You allow us to make
" our defence unprejudged; our bodies are at liber-
" ty, as well as our minds: You have more over
" restor'd to us, the tokens we us'd to bear when
" we attended you in our respective posts. We can-
" not fear our cause, nor shall we any longer distrust
" fortune. But I beg your leave to answer first,
" what you objected last. We are not, Sir, consci-
" ous to our selves, of having said any thing against
" your majesty. I would say, that you have long
" ago overcome all envy and ill-will, if I did not
" apprehend you would suspect I endeavour'd by
" flattery, to excuse other malicious expressions.
" However, if it has happen'd that we have let slip
" any unbecoming words, when we have been either
" faint or fatigu'd; in a march while we were ha-
" zarding our lives, in a battle or sick in our tents,
" and dressing our wounds, I hope we may be al-
" low'd to have deserv'd by our bravery and gal-
" lant behaviour, that these sayings should be im-
" puted to that particular circumstance of time, ra-
" ther than any disaffection in our minds. In great
" misfortunes all are guilty. We sometimes lay
" violent hands upon our own bodies, tho' we can-
" not be suppos'd to hate them. In these dismal
" conjunctures, the very sight of our own parents is
" not only ungrateful, but odious to us. Again,
" when we are prosperous, and are nobly rewarded
" for our service; or when we return laden with
" spoils,

“ spoils, who can bear us ? who can in that circum-
“ stance moderate his joy ? a soldier’s anger or
“ or alacrity, never keeps within due bounds ; they
“ are always excessive. We are transported in all
“ our affections. We blame, praise, pity, or
“ are angry, according as the present object moves
“ us. Sometimes we are for going to India and the
“ ocean ; and sometimes again, the thought of our
“ wives, our children, and country fills our mind.
“ But these reflections, these discourses are all at
“ an end, whenever the trumpet sounds to arms :
“ then every one runs to his post, and whatever
“ anger was conceiv’d in our tents, is all discharg’d
“ upon the enemy. Would to God Philotas also
“ had only offended in words. Now I must come
“ to that for which we are look’d upon as guilty,
“ viz. Our friendship with Philotas ; and I am so far
“ from disowning it, that I freely confess, we fought
“ and cultivated it. Can you wonder, Sir, that we
“ should endeavour to insinuate our selves into the
“ favour of the son of Parmenio, to whom you have
“ given the next rank to your self, preferring him
“ to all the rest of your friends ? If your majesty
“ will hear the truth, it is your self, Sir, that have
“ brought us into this Præmunire ; for who else was
“ the cause that all those who endeavoured to please
“ you, courted Philotas’s friendship ? It was he that
“ presented us to you, and procured us our present
“ interest with you. In a word, he was so much
“ in your favour, that we had both reason to seek
“ his friendship, and fear his displeasure. Have we
“ not all oblig’d our selves by an oath taken before
“ you, to esteem the persons our friends and enemies,
“ that you declar’d to be yours in either capacity ?
“ Being bound by this oath, could we in conscience
“ hate him you shew’d the greatest kindness to ? If
“ loving him while we saw you lov’d him were a
“ crime,

“ crime, in reality your majesty has but few sub-
“ jects that are not guilty, nay, I dare be bold to
“ say, none at all; for there is no body but would
“ have been glad of Philotas’s friendship, tho’ every
“ body could not obtain it. If therefore all that were
“ his friends are guilty, your majesty must think them
“ so too who would have been his friends; but what
“ indication is there that we were conscious of his trea-
“ son? This I suppose, that we were privately with him
“ the day before; this would undeniably hold good,
“ and be beyond purgation, if I did that day any
“ thing I had not us’d to do. Now if we did no-
“ more that day which is suspected, than what we
“ were us’d to do every day, the very custom will
“ clear us of any guilt. Oh! but we refus’d horses
“ to Antiphanes! and this contest with him happen’d
“ but the day before Philotas was discovered; if
“ that be a sufficient ground to be suspected, that we
“ did not that day deliver ’em, he cannot clear him-
“ self neither for having requir’d them. The charge
“ equally affecteth the demander and the retainer,
“ only with this difference, that the cause of him that
“ keeps his own, is better than his that demands
“ what belongs to another. However, Sir, out of ten
“ horses which I had, Antiphanes had already dis-
“ tributed eight to such as had lost theirs, so that I
“ had but two left for my own use, which when he
“ very haughtily and unjustly would have taken away
“ also, I was oblig’d to refuse them, unless I would
“ serve on foot my self. I cannot deny but I spoke
“ to him as became a man of spirit to speak to a sorry
“ fellow, who is no otherwise employ’d in the army,
“ than to distribute other people’s horses to those who
“ are to fight. I cannot but think myself very un-
“ happy, that at the same time I excuse my self to
“ Alexander, I seem also to do it to Antiphanes.
“ But here is another thing; your mother in her let-
“ ters

“ ters caution’d you to have an eye upon us, as being
“ your enemies. I could wish she had been more
“ wisely solicitous for her son’s safety, than to
“ fill his head with vain and groundless suspi-
“ cions.” Why does she not at the same time assign
“ the cause of her fear? She neither tells her au-
“ thor, nor alledges any act or saying, by which she
“ was mov’d to writ such frightful letters. What an
“ unhappy circumstance am I in, to whom perhaps it
“ is equally dangerous to speak or to hold my tongue!
“ but be it as it will, I had rather my defence should
“ displease you, than my cause. You may, if you
“ please, remember, that when you sent me to Ma-
“ cedonia to raise recruits, you told me there was a
“ great many young men hid in your mother’s house;
“ and you gave me particular instructions to have no
“ regard for any body besides your self, but to bring
“ by force those that would not serve voluntarily. I
“ executed your orders accordingly, and indeed more
“ punctually than was expedient to my own interest;
“ for I brought you from thence Gorgias, Hecateus
“ and Gorgatas, who are doing you very good ser-
“ vice. Now what can be more unjust, than for me
“ (who should have deservedly suffer’d, if I had not
“ obey’d your commands) to perish now for having
“ duly put the same in execution? for your mother
“ has no other cause to persecute us, than that we
“ preferr’d your good to her favour. I brought you
“ six thousand Macedonian foot, and six hundred
“ horse, a great many of which would not have come,
“ if I had not compell’d them. Now as your mother
“ is incens’d against us on this account, it seems rea-
“ sonable you should reconcile to us her, as you have
“ been the cause of our having incurr’d her displeasure.



C H A P. II.

WHile Amyntas was thus pleading his cause, they who had been sent in pursuit of Polemon, (whom we before mention'd) having overtaken him, brought him bound before the assembly. The assembly were so incens'd against him, that they could scarce be restrain'd from their usual custom of stoning him to death, without hearing his defence; when he, not at all dejected told them, " he did not desire the
" least favour to himself, provided his flight were not
" intrepred to his brothers prejudice. If I cannot
" clear my self, at least let my crime be personal,
" for their cause is by so much the better, that I am
" suspected only for having fled.

The whole assembly was pleas'd with what he said, and fell a weeping, so suddenly were they chang'd; and what before had chiefly provok'd their anger, was the only thing that now reconcil'd them to him. He was a youth in the flower of his age, and had been terrify'd by the disturbance he observ'd in others, when Philotas was tormented, and so fled along with them; but finding himself forsaken by his companions, he was deliberating whether he should pursue his flight, or return to the camp, when they who had been sent after him overtook him; he now wept bitterly, and beat himself about the face, not much concern'd on his own account, but overwhelm'd with grief at the danger he saw his brothers in. The king himself was mov'd with his behaviour, as well as the assembly; his brother was the only person that seem'd implacable;

cable, who looking at him with a furious countenance, said, “ Fool as thou art, thou shouldst then have wept
“ when thou clapp’st spurs to thy horse, thou deserter of thy brothers, and companion of deserters ;
“ thou miserable wretch, whither, and from whence
“ didst thou fly ? thou art the cause that I am thought
“ deserving of death, and that I am now forc’d to
“ use these terms of accusation.” To this he reply’d,
“ that he own’d he was very much to blame, but
“ more for the trouble he had brought his brothers
“ into, than for any thing he had done himself.” At these words the whole assembly could no longer command their tears, and acclamations, the usual tokens by which the multitude declares its favour. It seem’d to be but one voice issu’d forth by an universal consent, intreating the king to pardon these innocent and brave men. The chief of his friends also laid hold of this opportunity, and implor’d his mercy. Then Alexander having commanded silence, said, “ And
“ I myself discharge Amyntas and his brothers ; and
“ as for you, young gentlemen (addressing himself to
“ the prisoners) I had rather you should forget the
“ favour you now receive from me, than remember
“ the danger you were in. Be as sincere in your reconciliation to me, as I am in mine to you. If I
“ had not examin’d into the information, my dissimulation might have been distrusted, and it is better
“ for your selves, that you have prov’d your innocence, than to remain suspected. Reflect that
“ no body can be clear’d of any crime till he be
“ try’d : as for you, Amyntas, forgive your brother,
“ and I shall accept of that as a pledge of your sincere
“ reconciliation to my self.” Then having dismiss’d the assembly, he sent for Polydamas, who was a particular friend of Parmenio’s, and us’d to be next to him in time of battle ; and notwithstanding he immediately

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diately came, relying on his innocence, yet being commanded to fetch his brothers, who were very young, and on that account unknown to the king, his assurance turn'd into a deep concern, and he began rather to reflect on what could be laid to his charge, than how to confute the same. The guards who had them in custody, now brought them forth, and the king commanded Polydamas (who was almost dead with fear) to come nearer him, and having order'd the rest of the company to withdraw, he spoke to him in these terms: "We are all equally attack'd by
" Parmenio's crime, but especially my self and you,
" whom he has deceiv'd under the colour of friend-
" ship. Now I design to make use of you to punish
" his perfidiousness, see what a confidence I have in
" your fidelity. Your brothers shall remain with me as
" hostages, till you have acquitted your self of this
" trust; you shall go therefore into Media, and car-
" ry these letters, writ with my own hand, to my
" governours there. You must be so expeditious as
" to prevent even fame. I would have you arrive
" there in the night, and the next day you must exe-
" cute my orders. You shall also carry letters to
" Parmenio, one from my self, and another as from
" Philotas, whose seal I have by me; so by this
" means, the father seeing a letter from his son, will
" have no manner of apprehension at the sight of you.

Polydamas being thus deliver'd from his fears, promis'd more than was requir'd of him. Alexander having hereupon very much commended him, and made him large promises, Polydamas pull'd off the dress he had on, and cloath'd himself after the Arabian manner, and had two Arabians (whose wives and children remain'd with the king as pledges for their fidelity) appointed him for companions in his journey. As they rid upon camels they pass'd through the dry barren
countries



CAMMEL MADE

countries commodiously enough, and came on the eleventh day to their journeys end. Here Polydamas re-assum'd the Macedonian habit, and before any body knew of his arrival, he repair'd to Cleander's tent, (who was the king's prætor in this province) about the fourth watch; and having deliver'd his letters, it was agreed between them to meet again as soon as it was light at Parmenio's quarters, for he had letters to deliver from the king to others also. By this time Parmenio was acquainted with the arrival of Polydamas, and being overjoy'd at the coming of his friend, and eager to know what the king was doing (for he had receiv'd no letters from him of a considerable time) he sent to inquire after Polydamas. The inns in this country have large recesses backwards, which are well planted with trees that render them very pleasant. This kind of groves is what the kings and nobility take great delight in. Parmenio was walking in the grove in the middle of those officers who had receiv'd orders from the king to kill him. The time fix'd upon to execute their design, was when he should be reading the letter Polydamas was to deliver to him. Polydamas, at a great distance, no sooner perceiv'd by Parmenio's cheerful countenance that he saw him, than he ran to embrace him; and after their mutual caresses, Polydamas deliver'd him the king's letter. While he was opening it, he ask'd Polydamas, what the king was doing? who told him, his letter would inform him. Parmenio therefore having read the letter, said, "the king is preparing to march against the Arachosians:" "He is a prince ind-
"fatigably laborious and never idle! but I should
"think it were high time for him now to spare his
"person, having acquir'd so much glory." Then he took the other letter writ in Philotas's name, and seem'd by his countenance to be pleas'd with the
on.

contents of it ; while he was thus employ'd, Cleander stabb'd him in the side, and afterwards stuck him in the throat, the rest running him through as he lay dead on the ground. The guards, who stood at the entrance into the grove, understanding he was murder'd, without knowing for what reason, repair'd to the camp, and with the surprizing tidings put it all in a confusion. Hereupon the soldiers arm'd themselves, and ran to the wood where their general's body lay, and threatn'd " to break down the walls of the place, " and sacrifice all they found in it, to the manes of " their commander, if Polydamas and the rest concern'd in his murther, were not immediately deliver'd up to them. Cleander therefore order'd the " chief officers to be admitted," and read to them the king's letters, to the soldiers containing Parmenio's treason, and Alexander's request to them to vindicate his cause. Thus being satisfy'd that it was done by the king's directions, the sedition was quieted, tho' their indignation was not appeas'd. The greatest part of the soldiers being gone, the few that remain'd begg'd, " That they might at least be allow'd to " bury his corps," which was a long time refus'd, Cleander fearing he should by that allowance incur the king's displeasure. But as they persisted obstinately in their demand, to avoid the ill consequences that might ensue, he caus'd the head to be cut off, and allow'd them to bury his body : the head he sent to the king. Such was Parmenio's end, a man of an establish'd reputation both at home and in the army, he had done several great exploits without the king, but the king had done nothing of moment without him : he had been able to satisfy the expectation of a prosperous prince, who required performances answerable to his own extraordinary fortune ; he was seventy years of age when he was kill'd, and would often (notwithstanding the burden of his years) do the
part

part of a young general, and sometimes that of a private foldier. He was wife in counfel, brave in action, belov'd by the chief officers, but ftill more dear to the common foldiers. Whether thefe qualifications inspir'd him with the thoughts of reigning, or only made him fufpected, may be doubted ; becaufe it is uncertain whether Philotas's declaration was true, or only forc'd from him by the violence of his tortures, fince when the thing was fresh, and fo moft likely to be clear'd, it remain'd ftill doubtful. Alexander thought it advifable to feparate from the reft of the army, thofe who had complain'd of Parmenio's hard fate ; he therefore incorporated them into a body by themfelves, and gave Leonidas (who had himfelf formerly been very intimate with Parmenio) the command of them. They happen'd to be the very men the king had a private pique againft on another account. For one day refolving to found the minds of his foldiers, he gave the whole army to underftand, " That if they had any letters to fend into Macedonia to their friends, they might give them to his " meffengers, who would be fure to deliver them " faithfully." Hereupon every one writ his thoughts frankly : fome were quite weary of the war ; however, the major part lik'd it well enough. The letters being all brought to the king, he thereby difcover'd who had writ favourably of him, and who had complain'd of his proceedings ; he therefore now order'd them to encamp feparately, by way of infamy, intending to make ufe of their fervice in the war ; and yet prevent their infecting the reft of the army with their licentious difcourfe. The king's conduct might here be call'd in queftion, (fince he thereby exafperated the minds of a great many brave young men) yet his ufual happinefs turn'd this, as well as all other things, to his advantage ; for in the fubfequent wars,

none were readier on all occasions than they, their courage spurring them on to signalize themselves, as well to wipe off their disgrace, as because in so small a number their gallant behaviour could not lie undiscovered.



CHAP. III.

THINGS being settled after this manner, Alexander appointed a satrap or governor over the Ariani, and then gave notice of his expedition against the Agriasprians, who at this time (having chang'd their appellation) were call'd Euergetæ, for their having formerly reliev'd Cyrus's army, when it was afflicted with hunger and cold. The fifth day after he arriv'd in this country, he receiv'd intelligence, "That Sattibarzanes (who had revolted to Bessus) was march'd with a body of horse, to make another irruption into the country of the Ariani." Hereupon he detach'd against him six thousand of the Grecian infantry, and six hundred horse, under the command of Caranus, Erigyus, Artabazus and Andronicus; and remain'd himself sixty days with the Euergetæ, during which time he regulated that state, and bestow'd a great sum of money on them for their eminent service and fidelity to Cyrus; after which he constituted Amenides governor over them, and then march'd and subdu'd the Arachosians, whose country extends itself as far as the Pontic sea. Here he was join'd by the army Parmenio had commanded, which consisted of six thousand Macedonians, two hundred of the nobility, and five thousand Greeks, with two hundred horse; it was, beyond dispute, the main strength of the

the king's forces: he appointed Menon governor over the Arachosians in the quality of prætor; then he enter'd into a country hardly known to those that border'd upon it, for the inhabitants admit of no manner of communication with their neighbours. They are call'd Parapamisadæ, and are a very rude unpolish'd people, even to that degree that they may be reckon'd the most uncivilized of all the Barbarians; the roughness of the country seems to have contributed to that of their minds. They lie very far northward, and border upon Bactra on the west, looking towards the Indian sea on the south. Their cottages are built of brick from the bottom to the top, the country affording no wood, not so much as on the mountains. Their structure is broad, and by degrees grows narrower as it rises, till at last it closes in the form of the keel of a ship, there being a hole left in the middle to transmit the light. If they find any vines or trees any where, not destroy'd by the rigour of the climate, they cover them with earth during the winter, and when the snow is quite dissolved they restore them to the air and the sun; but the snows are here so deep, and so congeal'd with the frost, that no footsteps or traces of beast or bird appear in all the country. The light is so obscure, that it may be compar'd to the dimness of the night, so that those things that are nearest at hand are hardly discernable. In this wretched country, destitute of all manner of culture, the army suffer'd all kinds of evils, hunger, cold, weariness and despair. The excessive coldness of the snow kill'd a great many, it destroy'd the feet of others, but it was generally very pernicious to their eyes. If, being tir'd, they laid themselves down upon the frozen snow, their bodies, for want of motion, were so penetrated by the piercing rigour of the air, that they could not rise again, till help'd up by their companions, who found no better expedient.

dient to unbenumb their stiff limbs, than that of compelling them to walk ; by which means the vital heat being put into motion, they recover'd some part of their former vigour : such of them as could get into any of the cottages were soon restor'd, but then the darkness was so great, that these cottages were only discoverable by the smoke. As the inhabitants had never seen any strangers before in their territories, when they perceiv'd the arm'd soldiers they were ready to die with fear, and very willingly brought to them what their huts afforded, desiring only they would spare their lives.

The king walk'd on foot round his forces, raising such as were laid down, and supporting others that could not walk ; sometimes in the front, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes in the rear, sparing no pains to express his care for his men. At length they came to a better country, where he refresh'd his army with plenty of victuals, and waited till those that could not keep up with him had rejoin'd him.

From hence he mov'd towards mount Caucasus, which with its long ridge of hills stretches itself thro' Asia, having on one side of it the Cilician sea, and on the other the Caspian sea, the river Araxes, and the deserts of Scythia. Mount Taurus, which holds the second rank for bigness, joins to mount Caucasus ; it takes its rise from Cappadocia, and running across Cilicia joins itself to the mountains of Armenia, so that all these mountains being united form one continu'd ridge, out of which almost all the rivers of Asia flow, some emptying themselves into the Red Sea, others discharging themselves into the Caspian sea, while others again fall into the Hyrcanian and Pontic sea. The army pass'd over mount Caucasus in seventeen days ; there is a rock in it ten furlongs in compass, and above four in height, to which (as antiquity relates) Prometheus was bound. At the
foot

foot of this mountain, Alexander made choice of a place to build a city, which he peopled with seven thousand of the oldest Macedonians, and such other soldiers as were of no farther use to him. The inhabitants gave it the name of Alexandria.



C H A P. IV.

BUT Bessus being alarm'd at Alexander's expedition offer'd a sacrifice to the gods of the country; and then, according to the custom of those people, at an entertainment which he gave his friends, he deliberated with them concerning the war. As they were well loaded with wine, they extoll'd their own strength, and despis'd the enemy, one while for their rashness, and then again for their small number: Bessus particularly was very furious in his expressions, and being elated on the account of the kingdom he had lately procur'd by his treason, he told them, " it
 " was Darius's folly, that had given the enemies arms
 " so great a reputation, for he must needs go and
 " meet them in the straits of Cilicia, when at the
 " same time by retiring, he might have drawn them
 " insensibly into places impracticable even by their
 " natural situation, casting so many rivers and mountains in their way, that they might have been surpriz'd in those lonesome retreats, and hinder'd from
 " all possibility of flying, without having it in their
 " power to make any resistance. It was his resolution therefore to repair to the Sogdians, and so
 " leave the river Oxus as a wall between him and the
 " enemy, till he had got together a powerful army
 " from the neighbouring nations. The Chorasmians,
 " the Dahæ, the Sacæ, and the Indians as well as the
 " Scythians

“ Scythians that inhabit beyond the river Tanais,
 “ would not fail to join him, who are none of them
 “ so low in stature, but that their shoulders are upon
 “ the level with the Macedonians heads.” They
 unanimously (in their drunken humour) agreed, that
 that was the wisest course he could take. Hereupon
 Bessus caus’d the wine to be fill’d about plentifully,
 and routed Alexander horse and foot at table. There
 happen’d to be at the feast, amongst the rest, a Medi-
 an nam’d Cobares, more renown’d for his profession
 of the magical art, (if it may be call’d an art, and
 not rather an illusion upon superstitious tempers) than
 for any great knowledge he had therein; but other-
 wise he was a moderate good man enough. This
 man (by the way of preface) told Bessus, “ he was
 “ sensible it was safer for a servant to obey blindly,
 “ than to give advice; since they who obey are sure
 “ of the same lot with the rest: whereas they that
 “ venture to persuade or give counsel, run a particu-
 “ lar risk.” Upon these words, Bessus gave him the
 cup he had in his hand; which Cobares having re-
 ceiv’d, he express’d himself in the following manner:
 “ Mankind is in this respect very unhappy, that every
 “ one is of a clearer sight in other peoples affairs,
 “ than in his own. There is a confusion of thought
 “ in him that advises with himself; fear, desire, and
 “ an overweening to our own conceptions, are so
 “ many obstacles: as for pride, it cannot be thought
 “ to fall into your nature. You have found by experi-
 “ ence, however, that every one flatters himself so
 “ far as to think his own counsel the only salutary or
 “ the most proper expedient. Now you ought to re-
 “ flect, that you bear a great burden on your head
 “ in the crown; you must carry it with wisdom and
 “ moderation, or it will (may the heavens forbid it)
 “ crush you. It is conduct and prudence that are re-
 “ quisite in the present juncture; rashness and violence
 “ are

“are altogether useless.” Then he took notice of a proverb among the Bactrians: “That the fearful dog barks furiously, tho’ he dares not bite; and the deepest rivers glide along with the least noise.” Which sayings I take notice of, to shew, that even among the Barbarians, there were some sparks of wisdom worthy observation. This awaken’d the attention of the whole assembly, who were in mighty expectation of the main drift of his discourse. After which, he spoke his opinion, which would have prov’d more useful to Bessus, than it was agreeable, “You have, says he, almost at the gates of your palace, an expeditious indefatigable prince, who will sooner move his whole army, than you remove this table. Is this a time to call for troops from the river Tanais, or to think of opposing rivers to the enemy? can you imagine, that you can fly where he cannot follow you? the way is in common to you both, but indeed, is safest to the victor. And if you look upon fear to be nimble and swift, you ought to consider, that hope is still swifter. Why do not you therefore court the favour of the stronger, and lay yourself at his mercy? be the event what it will, it cannot but be more advantageous to you to surrender your self, than to remain his enemy. The crown you wear, is not your own, and therefore you may the more willingly part with it; besides, you may then perhaps with reason think your self a lawful king, when he has made you such, who can either give or take away your kingdom. You have here a faithful counsel, which to be long in executing, is so much time lost. The horse of spirit is governed by the very shadow of the switch, whereas the dull jade is not quickn’d even by the spur.

Bessus, who was cholerick in his nature, and at this time heated with wine, could hardly be kept by his friends

friends from killing him, for he drew his sword in order to it, and in a rage left the company; and Cobares, during the tumult, fled to Alexander. Bessus's army consisted of eight thousand Bactrians, who (while they believ'd the rigor of their climate would cause the Macedonians to march into India) remain'd faithful to him; but when they had certain advice of Alexander's coming against them, they all deserted Bessus, every one repairing to his own habitation. As for Bessus, he with a small number of such as had an immediate dependence on him, and therefore adher'd firmly to him, pass'd the river Oxus, burning afterwards their boats, that the enemy might not make use of them, and then endeavour'd to raise a fresh army among the Sogdians.

Alexander, as we said before, had pass'd over mount Caucasus; but there was such a scarcity of corn in his camp, that it was not far from a famine. They press'd the juice of Sesama, and therewith anointed their limbs, as if it had been oil; but this juice was so dear, that each measure call'd Amphora, sold for two hundred and forty Denarii; the same measure of honey, cost three hundred and ninety; and that of wine, three hundred; as for wheat, there was none at all, or a very small quantity. These barbarians use subterranean granaries, which they call Siri, and cover them so artfully, that none but those that are privy to them, can find them out. In these they had bury'd all their corn, so that the soldiers, for want thereof, were forc'd to live upon herbs, and such fish as the rivers afforded: when this food fail'd them likewise, they were commanded to kill their carriage cattle, by which means they made a hard shift to subsist till they came into the country of the Bactriani. This country has great variety of soils; some places abound with trees and vines, and afford plenty of very good fruits, the soil being fat and well water'd. That ground that is fit for corn they sow with wheat,
and

and the rest serves as pasturage for their cattle. At the same time a great part of this country is nothing but barren sands, whose excessive sterility and dryness, affords no nourishment neither for man, nor fruit; and when the winds blow from the Pontic sea, they sweep these sandy plains into great heaps, which at a distance have the appearance of hills; and thereby quite destroy all the marks of former roads. They therefore that travel this way, are oblig'd to observe the stars in the night, like mariners, and by their means direct their course; and indeed the nocturnal shade is rather more luminous than the day-light; so that there is no travelling here in the day-time, there being no track or footstep to follow, and the stars being intercepted by thick mists. Now if any persons are travelling, while the aforesaid winds blow, they are sure to be overwhelm'd with this flying sand. On the other side, where the country affords a better soil, it is crowded with inhabitants, and well stock'd with horses. Bactra, which is the capital city of this country, is situate under a hill call'd Parapamissus; the river Bactrus runs by its walls, and gives its name both to the town and country.

While the king lay here encamp'd, he receiv'd an account out of "Greece, that the Peloponnesians and "Lacedemonians had revolted;" for they were not yet reduc'd, when the messengers first set out to acquaint Alexander with their defection. This ill news was attended by another more immediate danger "from the Scythians, who inhabit beyond the river "Tanais, and were said to be coming to assist Bessus. "He likewise receiv'd at this time, an account of "what had pass'd in the country of the Arians, under the conduct of Caranus and Erigyus." The Macedonians and Arians being engag'd, Satibarzanes who commanded the latter, seeing the men did not fight with that vigour he desir'd they should, (both
armies

armies seeming to have equal advantage) rid up to the first rank, and caus'd a cessation of arms; then taking off his helmet, "he challeng'd any one of the Macedonians to a single combat, and at the same time declar'd he would fight bare-headed." Erigyus could not brook the insolence of the Barbarian, and notwithstanding he was advanc'd in years, yet he was not inferior to any of the young men in point of courage or strength of body: He therefore took off his helmet, and shewing his grey hairs, said "the day is come in which I will either by a victory, or an honourable death, demonstrate to the world what friends and soldiers Alexander has." And without any farther speech, he rid up to the enemy. One would have thought both armies had receiv'd orders to hold their hands, and forbear fighting; for they immediately drew back and gave the combatants room, both sides being intent upon the issue of this duel, which was not only to decide the matter between the two generals, but also between both armies. The Barbarian cast his javelin first, which Erigyus avoided by a small declination of his head, and clapping spurs to his horse, run his spear into his adversary's throat, so that it came out behind his neck. The Barbarian hereupon fell from his horse, but yet struggled, which made Erigyus draw his spear out of his throat, and run it into his mouth. And Satibarzanes, to rid himself the sooner of his pain, clap'd his hand to the spear, and further'd his enemy's stroke.

The Barbarians having lost their general, whom they had follow'd more out of necessity than good-will, and calling to mind Alexander's favours to them, deliver'd up their arms to Erigyus. The king was pleas'd with this success, but was a little uneasy at the Lacedemonians defection; however, he bore it with great magnanimity, and said, "they did not

“ not dare to discover their intentions, till they under-
 “ stood he was advanc’d to the remotest part of
 “ India.” Then decamping, he continu’d his Pur-
 suit of Bessus, and was met by Erigyius, who shew’d
 him the spoils of his enemy, as an ornament of his
 glorious victory.

C H A P. V.

ALEXANDER having committed the country of Bac-
 triana to the care of Artabazus, left there his
 baggage, under a sufficient guard ; while he with a
 flying camp enter’d into the deserts of the Sogdians,
 marching his army by night. The great want of
 water here (as we before took notice) inflam’d the
 soldiers drought (by the despair of getting any) be-
 fore they had any real occasion to drink. For the
 space of four hundred furlongs, there is not a drop of
 water to be found ; and the heat of the sun in sum-
 mer being very vehement, it kindles such a fire in
 the sands, that every thing is burnt up as by a conti-
 nual fire. Besides, there arises such a mist (occasion’d
 by this excessive heat of the sand) that the light is
 much obscur’d thereby, and the plains carry the ap-
 pearance of a vast and deep sea. Notwithstanding all
 which, it was tolerable good travelling there in the
 night, by reason of the dews and the freshness of the
 mornings. However, as the heat begins with the
 very light, it soon parches up all the moisture of the
 air, so that not only the outward parts, but even the
 bowels, are quite burn’d up with it. In these extre-
 mities therefore, their hearts fail’d them first, and
 then their bodies became faint, and they were as un-
 willing to stand still, as to go forward. Some few
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amongst them, by the advice of such as knew the country, had provided themselves with water; this serv'd them a little while, but as the heat increas'd, so did the desire of liquor to quench their thirst. This made it a necessity to distribute among them, what wine and oil there was. The pleasure they found in drinking, was so great, that they did not reflect they should be dry any more, and therefore drank so largely, that they were no longer able to carry their arms, nor to march; so that they seem'd happier that wanted water, than they that were supply'd with wine and oil, since by their immoderate use of it, they were forc'd to vomit it up again. As the king was thoroughly griev'd at all these calamities, his friends came about him, and desir'd him to reflect, that his great soul was the only remedy in the present misfortune. It happen'd at this juncture of time, that two of those that were sent before to mark out a camp, came and met him, bringing along with them some bottles of water, which they intended for their sons, who were in the army, and were ready to perish with thirst. When they saw the king, one of them opening a bottle, pour'd out a cup full, and presented it to his majesty. He took it from him, and ask'd him, who they intended the water for? To which they answered, for their sons. Whereupon the king returning the cup full as it was, said, "I cannot find in my heart to drink alone, and this small quantity will not afford every one some, wherefore carry it to your sons for whom you first designed it."

At length he came to the river Oxus, about the beginning of the night; but a great part of the army not having been able to keep up with him, "he caus'd fires to be made on the tops of hills, that they that were behind, might thereby know they were not far from the camp." Then he order'd them that were with him, "to refresh themselves
" with

“ with victuals and drink as fast as they could, and
“ then take water in skins and other vessels, and
“ carry them to their fellow-soldiers.” They who
drank immoderately, immediately dy’d; and he lost
more men this way, than he had ever lost in any
battle. As for himself, he kept on his armour, and
without either eating or drinking, plac’d himself on
the way the army was to come, without any refresh-
ment at all, till all those that lagg’d behind had pass’d
by him; and afterwards he pass’d all that night
without sleep, in great anxiety of mind.

The next day he was not less uneasy, because he
had no boats, and there was no possibility of building
a bridge, there being no timber thereabout. He
therefore had recourse to the only expedient necessity
suggested to him; which was to cause a great number
of skins to be fill’d with straw, and distributed to the
soldiers, upon which they laid themselves, and so
pass’d the river: they that got over first put them-
selves in order of battle, till the rest swam over to
them. Thus in six days he pass’d his whole army to
the other side, and was resolv’d now to continue his
pursuit of Bessus, when he receiv’d information of
what had happen’d among the Sogdians.

There was one Spitamenes, who was particularly
in Bessus his favour, and had receiv’d great honours
from him. But a perfidious nature is not to be pre-
vail’d upon by merit, or kindness; however, it was
less odious in him, by reason nothing could be reckon’d
criminal that was done against Bessus, who had so
basely murder’d his sovereign. Besides, this Spita-
menes put a fair gloss upon his treachery, pretending
he did it to revenge Darius; whereas in truth, it was
Bessus’s fortune they envy’d, more than they hated
his crime.

When this man understood that Alexander had pass'd the river Oxus, he communicated his design to Dataphernes and Catenes (in whom Bessus had the greatest confidence) who very readily enter'd into his measures, and taking with them eight lusty young fellows, they resolv'd upon this artifice. Spitamenes goes to Bessus, and privately tells him, " he understood Dataphernes and Catenes had conspir'd to
" seize him, and deliver him up alive to Alexander;
" that therefore he had secur'd them, and put them
" in bonds." Hereupon Bessus, thinking himself very much oblig'd to him, return'd him many thanks, and being eager to take vengeance of them, order'd them to be brought before him." They having their hands ty'd by concert were dragged along by their accomplices; and Bessus no sooner saw them, but looking at them with a stern countenance, he rose up with a design to wreak his revenge upon them with his own hand. But they laying aside the disguise, surrounded him immediately, and bound him, pulling the diadem from his head, and tearing his garments, which was part of the spoils he had taken from the murder'd king. He then confess'd, " That the avenging gods were at hand;" and added, " that they were not unjust to Darius, whom they reveng'd after this manner; but were over-propitious to Alexander, whose victories were always promoted by his enemies." It is a doubtful thing, whether the majority of the Bactrians would have tamely suffer'd this usage of him, had not the conspirators given out that they did it by Alexander's orders, and so terrify'd those whose thoughts were wavering. Having therefore set him on horseback, they brought him away, in order to deliver him up to the king, who in the mean time had made a draught of nine hundred men, whose service deserv'd they should

should be dismiss'd. He therefore gave to every trooper two talents, and to every foot-soldier three thousand denarii, and having enjoin'd them "to marry and get children," he sent them home. At the same time, he thank'd the rest "for their willingness to serve him in the remaining part of the war." While Penus was bringing to him, he came to a little town, whose inhabitants were called Branchidæ. They were by Xerxes's order (when he return'd from Greece) transplanted from Miletus, and assign'd this settlement in consideration of their having pillag'd the temple of Apollo Didymæus, in his favour. They had not quite forsaken the customs of their ancient country, but their language was a sort of medley, made up of their own and that of the country they now inhabited. They express'd a great deal of joy at the king's arrival, and readily surrender'd both themselves and their town to him. Hereupon Alexander call'd together the Milesians that serv'd in his army. Now we must observe, that the Milesians bore an old grudge to the Branchidæ. The king therefore referr'd it to them, whether they would consider their extraction, or revenge their former injury; and as they vary'd in their opinions, he told them, "he would advise with himself what was best to be done in the matter." The next day, when the deputies from the Branchidæ came to meet him, he commanded them to attend him, and being come to the town, he enter'd the gates thereof with part of his army, he order'd the phalanx to surround the place, and upon the signal given, "to pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them all to the sword." These poor wretches being in a defenceless condition, were every where butcher'd, and neither conformity of language, the humble posture of suppliants, nor the most fervent intreaty, could put a stop to this authorized cruelty. The very founda-

tions of the walls were dug up, that there might not be the least footsteps left of the town. Their fury did not stop here, for they not only cut down the consecrated woods, but also grubb'd up the very roots thereof, that there might be nothing left but a barren waste solitude. Now had this cruelty been practis'd on the first transgressors, it might have been thought a just punishment of their crime; but here posterity is punish'd for the sins of its forefathers, without ever having so much as seen Miletus, far from being able to betray it to Xerxes.

From hence he advanc'd to the river Tanais; here Bessus was brought to him, not only bound, but stript of all his cloaths. Spitamenes led him by a chain that went about his neck; a sight no less agreeable to the Barbarians, than to the Macedonians. Then Spitamenes addressing himself to Alexander, said, "I have
 " reveng'd the cause of Darius, and you, Sir, both
 " my sovereigns, and have brought to you the base
 " murderer of his king, having taken him after the
 " same manner as he gave the example. O that
 " Darius could open his eyes to view this spectacle!
 " That he could arise from the dead, who deserv'd
 " not that punishment, but well deserves this comfort!

Alexander having highly commended Spitamenes, turn'd to Bessus, and ask'd him, "What beastly rage
 " had prompted him, first to bind, and then to murder a prince who had loaded him with so many favours? but, said he, the usurp'd title of king was
 " the reward of thy parricide." To which Bessus, not daring to excuse his crime, answer'd, "That it
 " was true he had taken upon him the regal dignity,
 " but it was only that he might thereby be able to
 " preserve it for him, since if he had not done so,
 " some body else would not have failed to seize it." But Alexander, without having any regard to this speech, call'd for Oxathres, Darius's brother, (who

was one of his body guards) and order'd Bessus " to
 " be deliver'd up to him, that being fasten'd to a
 " cross, having his ears and nose cut off, he might
 " serve for a mark for the Barbarians to shoot at with
 " their arrows, without suffering the very birds to
 " come at his body." Oxathres readily took upon
 him to see all the rest perform'd, but as for the keep-
 ing off the birds, none could do that besides Catenes;
 which he did out of a desire to shew his unparallel'd
 dexterity, for he shot with so exact an aim, that the
 very birds flying could not escape him: and notwith-
 standing the common practice of shooting with bows
 and arrows, renders this art less admirable, yet those
 that beheld the performance were surpriz'd, and Ca-
 tenes was highly esteem'd for it; afterwards the king
 made presents to all those who had brought Bessus to
 him, but delay'd his execution till they came to the
 same place where he had kill'd Darius.



C H A P. VI.

IN the mean time the Macedonians going out to
 forage, without observing their usual discipline,
 were attack'd and worsted by the Barbarians, who
 came upon them from the neighbouring mountains,
 and took a great many more of them prisoners than
 they kill'd; so that driving the captives before them,
 they return'd again to the hills. They were about
 twenty thousand that lurk'd here, and were accusom'd
 to live by plunder. Their arms were slings and bows.
 The king therefore came and besieg'd them, and as
 he was fighting amongst the foremost, was wounded
 with an arrow in the middle of the leg, where the

head of the arrow stuck ; hereupon the Macedonians were in the greatest affliction, and carry'd him back to the camp. The Barbarians were not unsensible of the king's being carry'd off from the place of action, for they could discover every thing from the top of the hill. They therefore sent the next day deputies to the king, whom he immediately order'd to be introduc'd ; and taking off the bandage from his leg, he shew'd it to them, dissembling the danger of his wound ; then having commanded them to sit down, they told him, “ The Macedonians themselves were
 “ not more afflicted at his being wounded than they
 “ were, and that if they knew the author of it, they
 “ would presently deliver him into his hands ; for it
 “ belong'd only to the sacrilegious, to fight with the
 “ gods, and therefore they submitted to him, being
 “ overcome by his virtue and bravery.” The king hereupon having receiv'd his captives, took them into his protection.

After this he decamp'd, being carry'd in a military litter, both horse and foot striving for the honour of being his bearers ; the horse alledg'd in justification of their pretensions, “ that the king usually fought
 “ amongst them.” On the other side, the foot thought it their right, “ because they were us'd to
 “ carry the'r fellow-soldiers when wounded, and
 “ therefore look'd upon it as an injustice done them
 “ to be depriv'd of their office in the person of their
 “ king.” Wherefore the king taking into consideration their mutual strife, and reflecting how hard it was to make a choice in the present case, since they who were rais'd by God would think themselves injur'd, commanded them to take him by turns.

From hence they came the fourth day to a town call'd Mithradat, the walls whereof were three score and ten furlongs in compass, but the castle had no walls ; leaving therefore a garrison in the town, he burnt and pillag'd

lag'd the neighbouring villages. Here he receiv'd ambassadors from the Abian Scythians, who had maintain'd their liberty ever since the decease of Cyrus, but now readily offer'd to submit to his commands. It is certain they were the justest of all the Barbarians, never having recourse to arms but when provok'd ; and were besides so righteous in their moderate and fair use of their liberty, that the meanest among them were upon the level with the greatest. The king having receiv'd them graciously, sent Penidas, who was of the band of his friends, to those Scythians who inhabit " Europe, to forbid them to pass the river " Tanais without his leave. He likewise order'd " him, to make the best discovery he could of the " situation of the country ; and also to visit those " Scythians that border on the Bosphorus." He had made choice of a place to build a city on, " upon the " bank of the Tanais, which might serve as a curb to " those nations he had already subdu'd, as well as to " those that he determin'd hereafter to conquer : " But this design was delay'd by the revolt of the Sogdians, which was follow'd by that of the Bactrians. They were about seven thousand horse, whose authority influenc'd the rest ; Alexander therefore sent for Spitamenes and Catanes who had deliver'd Bessus to him, no wise doubting but by their interest the insurrection might be suppress'd, and the ringleaders secur'd. But as they were themselves the authors of the commotions they were sent to quiet, they spread a rumour, that the king had sent for the Bactrian " cavalry for no other end but to be cut to pieces, and " that this was their commission, but they were far " from being capable of executing so abominable a " design against their own countrymen ; for which " they detested Alexander's cruelty as much as they " hated Bessus's parricide." As they were of themselves inclin'd to rise, it was no difficult matter by

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such

such insinuations as these, to make them take to their arms. The king being inform'd of the defection of these traytors, commanded Craterus to besiege Cyropolis, while he himself took another town in the same country by a general assault; upon the signal given they kill'd all that were at man's estate, the rest were a prey to the victors: The town was demolish'd for an example to others.

This did not hinder the Memaceniens (who were a valiant people) from resolving to sustain a siege, as being not only the most honourable but safest course. The king therefore sent before him fifty troopers with instructions "to make the inhabitants sensible of his
" great clemency and goodness to those that submit-
" ted to him; and at the same time how inexorable
" he was to those that held out against him." To which they made answer, "That they did not doubt
" either of the king's honour or power:" However, they desir'd them "to pitch their tents with-
" out the walls of the town," where they entertain'd them very courteously; and at midnight, when they were in a profound sleep, being loaded with wine, they set upon them, and cut all their throats. Alexander was no less mov'd at this usage than the barbarity of the act deserv'd, and immediately march'd and invested the city, which was too strongly fortified to be taken at the first assault: so that he left Meleager and Perdiccas to carry on this siege, and with the rest of the forces he join'd Craterus, who, as we said before, was besieging Cyropolis.

The king had a great desire to spare this town, in favour of Cyrus, its founder, for whose memory, and that of Semiramis, he had a great veneration, on the account of their extraordinary virtue, magnanimity, and memorable exploits; but finding the besieg'd remain'd obdurate, it so incens'd him against them, that
having

having taken the town, he abandon'd it to the Macedonians to be pillag'd, who were, not without cause, very severe to them. After this he returned to Meleager and Perdiccas, who were left to carry on the siege of the Memaceniens. No town ever defended itself better; here he lost his bravest men, and was in the greatest danger himself, for he receiv'd so furious a blow on the neck with a stone, that it took away his sight, and the present use of his reason. The army was in the greatest consternation now, as thinking him killed; but he was invincible to those things that terrify others, and therefore without waiting till his wound was cur'd, he carry'd on the siege with greater vigour, his anger quickening his natural dispatch and expedition. Having therefore undermin'd the wall, and made thereby a considerable breach, he carry'd the place by storm, and caus'd it to be demolish'd. This done, he detach'd Menedemus with three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse to the city Maracanda, from whence Spitamenes had driven the Macedonian garrison, shutting himself up therein, as in a place of safety. The inhabitants did not much approve of his proceeding, yet they seem'd to consent to it, not being able to oppose him. In the mean time Alexander return'd to the river Tanais where he inclos'd with a wall as much ground as his camp had taken up, which was threescore furlongs in compass, and caus'd the town he built therein to be also call'd Alexandria. The work was carry'd on with so much celerity, that in seventeen days both the walls and houses were finish'd. There was a mighty strife among the soldiers, who should soonest perform their task (for the work was divided amongst them) so that the whole being soon perfected, he peopled it with the captives, whose ransoms he paid to their respective owners; and their posterity (notwithstanding

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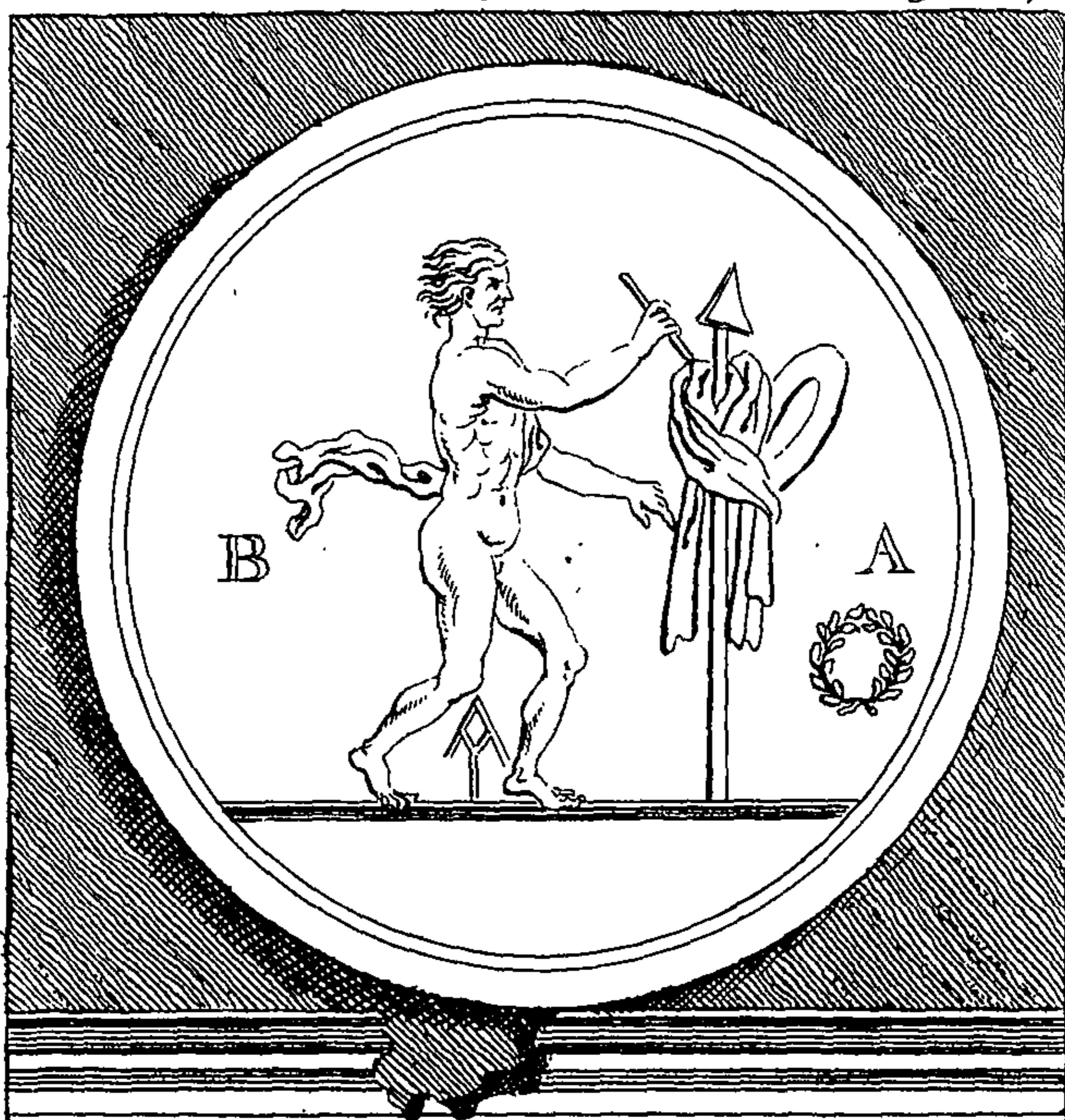
withstanding the many ages that are since elaps'd) are still taken notice of in consideration of Alexander's memory.



C H A P. VII.

TH E king of those Scythians whose empire lies beyond the Tanais, looking on the new-built town as a yoke the Macedonians had put about their necks, sent his brother Carlosis with a great body of horse “to demolish it, and remove the Macedonian “forces far from the river.” The Tanais divides the Bactrians from the European Scythians, and likewise serves for the bounds of Asia and Europe; the Scythian nation not being far distant from Thrace, extends itself from the east to the northward, and are not, as some have thought, borderers on the Sarmatians, but are a part of that people. They also inhabit that country that lies beyond the Ister, and touches upon Bactriana, which is in the extreme of Asia, northward, where there are vast forests, and unbounded wastes; but that part of the country that lies near the Tanais, and looks towards Bactriana, does not differ much in culture from other improv'd territories.

Alexander finding himself oblig'd to enter upon an unforeseen war with these people, and observing with what insolence they rid up and down within his sight; altho' he was not yet recover'd of his wound, and his voice particularly fail'd him by reason of his slender diet, and the violent pain in his neck, summon'd his friends to council. He was not afraid of
the



TROPAEVM
AB ALEXANDRO STATVTVM.

the enemy, but uneasy at the unhappy juncture of affairs. The Bactrians were in open rebellion, the Scythians insulted him, when he was neither able to stand nor ride, and so could neither give necessary orders, nor encourage his men. In this double perplexity he could not forbear complaining of the “ gods,
“ who forc’d him to lie idle, whose diligence heretofore none could escape ; but now his own soldiers
“ had much ado to believe he did not counterfeit being
“ ill. This made Alexander, who since Darius’s overthrow, had never consulted the soothsayers, return again to that superstition, or rather delusion of mankind ; he therefore commanded Aristander, in whom he had the greatest confidence, “ to offer sacrifice, in order thereby to penetrate into the event
“ of things.” Now it was the custom of these soothsayers to inspect the intrails of beasts without the king, and make a report to him of their observations. While these means were using to find out the hidden issue of affairs, “ he order’d his friends Hephæstion, Craterus
“ and Erigyius, with his body guards to draw near
“ him, that he might not by straining his voice,
“ break the scar of his wound, which was yet but
“ tender.” After which, he spoke to them in the following manner. “ The danger I have to encounter with, comes upon me at a juncture more favourable to my enemy than my self ; but necessity
“ takes place of reason; and more especially in war,
“ where it very rarely happens that we can chuse our
“ own times. The Bactrians have revolted when we
“ were just ready to put our yoke upon them, and
“ they are trying what courage we have by our war
“ with another nation. It is plain, that if we leave
“ the Scythians, who are attacking us, we shall appear despicable to those who have rebell’d ; but
“ if on the contrary we pass the Tanais, and shew
“ ourselves invincible at the Scythians cost, there is
“ no

“ no doubt to be made, but Europe will also lie open
“ to our victorious arms. He is mistaken who mea-
“ sures our glory by the space that we are to march.
“ We have only one river to pass to carry our arms
“ into Europe, and what an honour will it be to us
“ at the same time that we are subduing Asia, to
“ erect trophies of our conquests, as it were in a new
“ world, by uniting with one victory what nature
“ separated at so great a distance? But on the other
“ side, if we make the least delay, we shall infallibly
“ have the Scythians on our backs. Are we the only
“ men that can pass rivers? a great many things, by
“ the means whereof we have been hitherto success-
“ ful, will turn against us. Fortune will teach the
“ vanquish'd also the art of war. We have lately
“ shewn the way to pass rivers upon skins, which
“ admit the Scythians to be yet ignorant of, the
“ Bactrians will soon teach them the way. Besides,
“ there is yet but one army of this nation arriv'd,
“ there are others daily expected; so that by declin-
“ ing the war we foment it: and whereas we can
“ now carry the war where we please, by our neg-
“ lect we shall be forc'd to be upon the defensive.
“ What I say is self-evident, but whether the Mace-
“ donians will suffer me to act after my own way I
“ cannot tell, because since this wound I have not
“ been able to ride on horseback, or to go on foot:
“ however, if you are willing to follow me, my
“ friends, I am well. I think myself strong enough
“ to bear the fatigue, and if the period of my life
“ be at hand, pray in what cause can I die more glo-
“ riously?

He utter'd these things with so weak a voice, that they who were next to him could hardly hear him, so that they unanimously endeavour'd to divert him from so rash an enterprize, especially Erigyius, who (finding he could not prevail upon his obstinacy by his interest

interest with him) had recourse to superstition, which the king was very much addicted to, and therefore told him, “ That the gods themselves oppos’d his
“ design, and threaten’d him with some extraordina-
“ ry misfortune if he pass’d the river.” Erigyus, as he was entering the king’s tent, had met Aristander, who had inform’d him, “ That the entrails of the
“ beasts appear’d unlucky.” Hereupon Alexander silenc’d him, reddening with anger as well as shame, that his superstition, which he thought to conceal, was thus made public, and sent for Aristander; who being come, he told him (a little transported) “ That
“ he suppos’d he was no longer his king but a pri-
“ vate person : did not I command you to offer sa-
“ crifice ? why then did you disclose to any but my-
“ self what the same portended ? Erigyus, by your
“ treachery, has penetrated into my secrets ; as for
“ him, I am sure he makes his own fear and not
“ you, the interpreter of the entrails. I peremptorily
“ charge you to tell me yourself, what you learn’d
“ by your observation of the victims, that you may
“ not have it in your power, to deny what you shall
“ have said.” Aristander at these words stood like one astonished, turning pale, and speechless thro’ fear ; but then again, the same fear prompted him to speak, lest he should provoke the king still more by his long silence : he therefore said, “ I foretold that your
“ present undertaking would be both perilous and
“ full of difficulties, but not unsuccessful ; neither is
“ it any discovery from my art, but the sincerity of
“ my dutiful affection for you, that makes me uneasy.
“ I see how weak you are, and am sensible how much
“ depends on your person alone. In fine, I fear you
“ have not strength enough to enable you to go
“ through such an enterprize.”

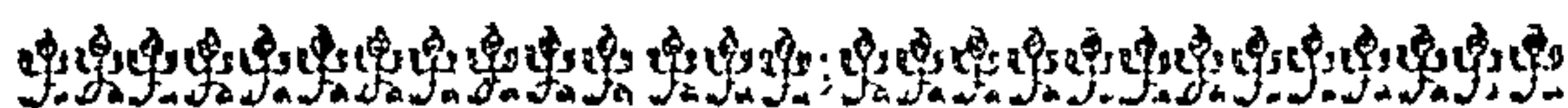
The king bidding him “ not distrust his happiness
“ (since the gods intended him still a larger portion of
“ glory)

“glory)” dismiss’d him.” Afterwards, while the king was deliberating with the same persons, “how he should pass the river;” Aristander return’d and assur’d him, “he had sacrific’d again, and had never observ’d more promising omens, they being very different from the first, in which there was some ground for solicitude: whereas, now the gods seem’d to be altogether propitious.”

However, the news that was brought Alexander soon after seem’d to break the chain of his uninterrupted prosperity. We took notice before that he had detach’d Menedemus to besiege Spitamenes, the author of the Bactrian revolt; who upon advice of the enemy’s approach, to avoid being pent up within the walls of a town, and conceiving withal some hopes of trepanning him, had plac’d himself in ambuscade on the way he knew he was to come. There was a wood thro’ which Menedemus was to pass, and by reason of its covert, very fit for Spitamenes’s purpose; here he plac’d the Dahæ, whose horse carry each two armed soldiers, who by turns, as occasion serves, suddenly dismount, and put the best order’d cavalry in confusion, for the men are as swift as the horses.

Spitamenes order’d therefore these troops to surround the wood, and upon the signal given to attack the enemy in front, flank and rear at the same time. Menedemus finding himself thus hemm’d in on all sides, and much inferior in number, resolv’d to make the best resistance he could, and so told his men, “That the only comfort they could now propose to themselves, was to die well reveng’d.” He was himself mounted on a strong horse, with which he had often charged the enemy’s ranks, riding full speed and broke them with a great slaughter; but being at present attack’d on all sides, and almost bloodless by the many wounds he had receiv’d, he desir’d a certain friend of his, nam’d Hypsides, to get upon his horse, and try

to save himself; but while this was doing, he expired and his body fell to the ground. Hypsides might have got off, if he had had a mind, but having lost his friend, he scorn'd to live. His only care was to sell his life as dear as he could; clapping therefore spurs to his horse, he rode in among the thickest of the enemy, and having made a great slaughter, at last was kill'd. They that still remain'd perceiving this, retir'd to an eminence hard by, and were at last reduc'd by famine. In this action there perish'd two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, which loss Alexander wisely conceal'd by threatening with death those that return'd from the defeat, if they divulg'd it.



C H A P. VIII.

BUT as he could no longer carry on his dissimulation, he repair'd to his tent, which he had caus'd on purpose to be pitch'd upon the bank of the river; there he pass'd the night alone without sleep, casting in his mind what was best to be done in the present juncture, and frequently lifting up the skins of his tent to behold the enemies fires, and be able to guess at their number. As soon as it was day, he put on his armour, and shew'd himself to the army now the first time since he receiv'd his last wound. They had so great a veneration for their king, that his presence soon dissipated their fears; they therefore, with tears of joy in their eyes, saluted him, and now press'd him hard to enter upon the war, which they had before refus'd. Upon this, he told them, " he would pass the horse, " and the phalanx in float boats, and the light-arm'd " part of the army on stuf'd skins, as he had done " here.

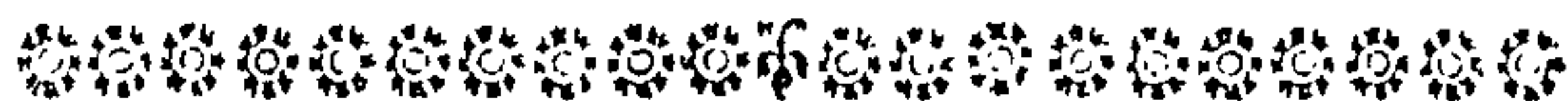
“ heretofore.” There was no occasion for his saying more, neither could he, by reason of his infirmity.

The soldiers immediately fell to work with so much cheerfulness, that in three days time they made twelve thousand of these boats. Every thing was now in readiness for their passage, when there came twenty ambassadors from the Scythians, according to the custom of that nation, riding about the camp, desiring the king might be inform'd they had a message to him : they being introduc'd accordingly, and order'd by his majesty to sit down, look'd very earnestly at him : I suppose for this reason, that they make an estimate of the mind from the size of the body, and as he was but a moderate stature, they did not think him proportionable to his mighty character. The Scythians are not a dull, heavy people, like the rest of the Barbarians ; nay, some of them are said to attain to as much knowledge as is consistent with any nation that is constantly in arms. It is said, they address'd themselves to the king in the following terms ; which, tho' perhaps different from our manners, who live in a politer age, and have our parts better improv'd, yet such as it is, we shall faithfully relate, hoping that if their speech be despis'd, our integrity will not be suspected. The eldest of them therefore said, “ If the
“ gods had given you a body suitable to the insatiable
“ greediness of your mind, the world would not be
“ able to contain you ; you would stretch one arm
“ out to the farthest extremities of the east, and
“ the other to the remotest bounds of the west ; and
“ not content therewith, would be for examining
“ where the glorious body of the sun hid it self ; but
“ even as you are, your ambition attempts what you
“ are not capable of. You pass out of Europe into
“ Asia, and from Asia you return again to Europe ;
“ and when you have overcome all mankind, rather
“ than be quiet, you'll quarrel with the woods and the
“ moun-

“ mountains, the rivers and wild beasts. Can you be
“ ignorant, that large trees are a long time a growing,
“ tho’ an hour be sufficient to cut them down? he is
“ a fool that coveteth their fruit, without duly con-
“ sidering their height. Take heed that while you
“ strive to climb up to the top, you do not fall head-
“ long with those branches you have grasp’d. A
“ lion has sometime been the prey of the smallest
“ birds; and iron it self is consum’d by rust. In
“ fine, there is nothing so firm and strong, but is in
“ danger of perishing by what is weaker. What have
“ you to do with us? we never so much as set foot
“ in your country. Shall not we who pass our lives
“ in the woods, be allow’d to be ignorant who you
“ are, and whence you come? know, that as we are
“ not greedy of empire, so neither can we submit to
“ be slaves. Now that you may be sensible what sort
“ of people the Scythians are, heaven has presented
“ us with a yoke of oxen, a plough, an arrow, and
“ a bowl; these things we either communicate with
“ our friends, or make use of them to defend
“ ourselves against our enemies: we impart to
“ our friends the corn which is produc’d by the
“ labour of the oxen, and with them also we sa-
“ crifice to the gods out of the bowl: our arrows
“ serve us against our enemies at a distance, and we
“ use our spears in a closer engagement. By these
“ means we overcame the king of Syria, and since,
“ the kings of Persia, and of the Medes, and open’d
“ our selves a way even into Egypt. And whereas
“ you are pleas’d to give out, that you come to punish
“ thieves and robbers; it is plain you have play’d the
“ part of a robber in all the nations you have yet in-
“ vaded. You seiz’d Lydia, made your self master
“ of Syria, and are in present possession also of Per-
“ sia; the Bactrians are in your power, and you have
“ penetrated into India; and after all this, you can-
“ not

“ not be satisfy’d, unless you extend your ravenous
“ hands to our harmless flocks. What occasion
“ have you for riches, since they only serve to en-
“ crease your appetite ? You are the first who by fa-
“ tety sharpen your hunger, as if all your acquisi-
“ ons only serv’d to make you thirst after what you
“ have not. Don’t you reflect how long the Bactri-
“ ans have employ’d you ? and that while they kept
“ you in play, the Sogdians rebell’d : so that your
“ very victories seem to afford you fresh matter of
“ war. Now admitting that you are greater and
“ stronger than any, yet you ought to consider, that
“ no body can endure long a foreign government.
“ Do but pass the Tanais, and you may indeed learn
“ the extent of our country, but can never hope to
“ overtake the Scythians ; our poverty will still be
“ too nimble for your army, that is laden with the
“ spoils of so many nations. Again, when you think
“ us the farthest from you, you shall find us within
“ your camp. We are equally swift either to fly or
“ pursue. I am inform’d, that our desarts and wastes
“ are become proverbs of scorn among the Greeks.
“ But for our parts, we make choice of wilds, and
“ those places that are void of human culture, rather
“ than of cities and fruitful soils. Hold therefore
“ your fortune as close as you can, for she is slippery,
“ and will not be held against her will. Wholesome
“ advise is better discover’d by the consequences, than
“ the present. Put a curb therefore to your prospe-
“ rity, and you’ll govern it the better. We have a
“ saying amongst us, that fortune is without feet, and
“ has only hands and wings, and that when she
“ reaches out her hands, she will not suffer her wings
“ to be touch’d. To be short, if you are a god, you
“ ought to be beneficent to mortals, and not deprive
“ them of what they have ; and if you are a man,
“ always remember your self to be what you are. It is
“ folly

“ folly to be mindful of those things which make you
 “ forget your self. You may make good use of the
 “ friendship of those you do not exasperate by war :
 “ for the firmest union is amongst equals ; and those
 “ seem to be equals, who have not yet try’d their
 “ strength. Do not imagine those you conquer can
 “ be your friends ; there’s no friendship between the
 “ sovereign and the slave, for even in time of peace,
 “ the rights of war do still obtain. The Scythians in
 “ their alliances, do not make use of oaths to ratify
 “ the same, but their integrity answers all the ends
 “ of oaths. It is a precaution of the Greeks indeed
 “ to seal treaties, and invoke the gods ; but as for
 “ ourselves we place our religion in faithfully observ-
 “ ing our promises. They who have no reverence for
 “ men, will not scruple to deceive the gods them-
 “ selves. Besides, you have no occasion for friends,
 “ of whose benevolence you doubt. Now in us you
 “ will have incorruptible guardians both of Asia and
 “ Europe : there is only the Tanais between us and
 “ Bactria, and beyond the Tanais, we extend our
 “ selves as far as Thrace, and Thrace is said to border
 “ upon Macedonia. Thus you see we are your
 “ neighbours in both your empires. Consider there-
 “ fore, whether you will have us for your friends, or
 “ your enemies.”



C H A P. IX.

T H E Barbarian having finish'd his speech, the
 king made him this answer : “ that he would
 “ depend upon his own fortune, and the counsel
 “ of his friends : on his fortune, because he had con-
 “ fidence in it : and he would consult the opinion of
 “ his friends, that he might undertake nothing rash-
 “ ly,

“ly, and with too great a confidence of success.” After which, he dismiss’d the ambassadors, and embark’d his army on the boats he had prepar’d for that purpose. In the fore-part of the boats, he plac’d those who had bucklers, commanding them “to kneel down that they might be less expos’d to the enemy’s arrows.” Next to these were the directors of the machines, having on each side of them, as well as before, soldiers compleatly arm’d. The rest standing behind the engines, form’d a tortoise with their bucklers, and so protected the rowers, who had also armour on. The same disposition was observ’d in those boats that transported the horse, of whom the major part held their horses by the reins of their bridles, and so drew them along swimming at the stern; as for them that were carry’d over on skins stuff’d with straw, they were shelter’d by the float boats.

The king, with such as he had chosen to accompany him, put off first, and directed his course to the other side of the river, where the Scythians had drawn up some horse along the bank to oppose his landing: but besides the appearance of an army on the shore, the Macedonians met with another danger in their passage, for they that steer’d the boats were not able to maintain their course cross the river, by reason of the rapidity of its current; and the soldiers tottering up and down, and being apprehensive of being cast over board, disturb’d the waterman in their business. In this condition it was impossible for them to deliver their darts with any force, being more solicitous how to stand securely, than to attack the enemy. It is true, their engines did them great service, seldom failing to do execution, the enemy standing thick upon the shore, and rashly exposing themselves. The barbarians also on their side poured in clouds of arrows amongst the boats, so that there was hardly a buck-
ler

ler that had not several heads sticking in it. At length the boats began to gain the land, and those that were arm'd with shields, rising all at one motion, cast their darts with a more certain aim, as having greater liberty and surer footing. Thus the Scythian horse being terrify'd and forc'd to give back, the Macedonians encouraging each other, leap'd out of their boats, and with great alacrity and fury bore down upon the enemy already in confusion. By this time Alexander's horse had form'd themselves into troops, and broke in also upon the Barbarians disorder'd ranks. While these things were doing, the rest of the Macedonian army, being cover'd by those that were engag'd, had time to prepare likewise for battle. The king supply'd the weakness of his body with the vigor of his mind; and although his voice was not yet strong enough to make his encouragement heard, (his wound not being quite heal'd) yet the whole army could see how gallantly he fought. This made them all discharge the general's part, and animate each other with so good an effect, that they fell furiously on the enemy, regardless of their own safety. Whereupon the Scythians, no longer able to sustain the arms, shouts, and countenance of the Macedonian army, clapp'd spurs to their horses and made the best of their way. The king (notwithstanding his infirm body could not yet endure any great fatigue) pursu'd the enemy for the space of fourscore furlongs; then finding himself faint, he order'd his men to continue their pursuit as long as they had day-light; after which he repair'd to his camp, expecting the return of his troops.

They had already pass'd the bounds of Bacchus, in commemoration of whom there were a great many stones erected at a distance from each other, and several tall trees, whose bodies were cover'd over with ivy. But the Macedonians rage carry'd them still farther, so that they did not return to the camp till midnight. They
kill'd

kill'd a great many, took several prisoners, and brought away eighteen hundred horses. In this action the Macedonians lost sixty troopers, and almost one hundred foot, and had one thousand wounded. This seasonable victory settled the minds of the Asiatics (who were at this time wavering) for they look'd upon the Scythians to be invincible, and finding them defeated too, they concluded "no nation was able to withstand the Macedonian power."

The Sacæ hereupon sent ambassadors to Alexander, to assure him, "that their nation submitted to him." They were mov'd to this, not only by the king's bravery, but also by his clemency towards the Scythians, to whom he sent back all their prisoners without ransom, that that fierce nation might be sensible he did not fight with them out of hatred or anger, but for reputation and glory. Having therefore receiv'd the Sacæ's ambassadors graciously, he gave them Exipinus for a companion home; who being in the flower of his youth, was very much in Alexander's favour; but altho' he was as handsome in person as Hephæstion, yet he was far from having his agreeable wit.

Then the king leaving the major part of the army under the command of Craterus, with orders to follow him at easy marches, went himself with the rest to Maracanda. Spitamenes being inform'd of his approach, had left that city and was fled to Bactra. Alexander therefore having travell'd a great deal of ground in four days, came at last to the place where Menedemus had lost the two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, whose bones he order'd to be bury'd with the usual rites of their country. Here Craterus, who had been commanded to follow, join'd the king. That therefore he might chastise at once all those who had revolted from him, he divided his army into several bodies, and order'd them to burn the country, and kill all that were able to bear arms.



C H A P. X.

THE Sogdian country is for the most part a desert ; the wilds and wastes taking up almost eight hundred furlongs in breadth. It is of a vast extent in length, and is water'd by a river called by the inhabitants Polytimetus, which runs with a rapid stream. This river is confin'd within a narrow channel, and is at last receiv'd into a subterranean cavity. The noise it makes, as it passes under ground, is a sufficient indication of its hidden course ; yet the territory under which this considerable river runs, shews no sign of it from the least evaporation of water, thro' any part of its passage.

Among the captive Sogdians, there were thirty of the chiefest nobility of the country, who were remarkable for their prodigious strength of body. These being brought before the king, and understanding by the interpreter, that his majesty had ordered them to be executed, they began to sing and dance, and by other wanton motions of their body endeavoured to express the chearfulness of their mind. Alexander being amazed at their unusual alacrity on such an occasion, commanded them to be brought back, and ask'd them “ the cause of their excessive
“ joy, when they beheld death before their eyes.” To which they answer'd ; “ that if any other than
“ himself had sentenced them to die, they should
“ have been concern'd ; but since they were to be
“ restor'd to their ancestors by so great a king who
“ had conquer'd all the world, they look'd upon
“ their death to be so honourable, as even to deserve

“ the envy of all brave men, which made them so
 “ transported when they understood his pleasure.”
 The king then asked them, “ if they would be
 “ his friends hereafter, if he should give them their
 “ lives? They reply’d, that they had never been
 “ his enemies, but had only defended themselves
 “ when they were attacked in a hostile manner by
 “ him. And that if any body would make trial of
 “ them, by good offices, instead of injuries, they
 “ would willingly contend in the generous strife,
 “ and use their utmost endeavours not to be over-
 “ come.” He asking them afterwards, “ What
 “ pledge they would give him for their fidelity?”
 They answered, “ Their lives, which they receiv’d
 “ through his bounty, and which they would at all
 “ times be ready to restore to him, whenever he re-
 “ quir’d them.” Nor were they worse than their
 words. For those of them, who were sent home,
 kept their country-people in due subjection to Alex-
 ander; and four of them being receiv’d into his body
 guards, were inferior to none of the Macedonians in
 their sincere affection to the king. Alexander having
 left Peucolaus among the Sogdians with a garrison of
 three thousand men, he march’d to Bactra, from
 whence he commanded Bessus “ to be conducted to
 “ Ecbatana, there to suffer death for murdering
 “ Darius.”

About the same time Ptolemy and Menidas brought
 him three thousand foot, and one thousand horse, to
 serve in the war as mercenaries. Alexander likewise
 came to him with the same number of foot, and five
 hundred horse, out of Lycia. The like number had
 followed Asclepiadorus from Syria. Antipater had
 also sent eight thousand Greeks, amongst whom were
 five hundred horse.

Being therefore reinforc’d by these recruits, he
 proceeded to compose the disturbances in the revolted
 provinces;

provinces ; and having put to death the promoters, he came the fourth day to the river Oxus. This river, by reason of the mud it carries along with its stream, is always muddy and unwholesome to drink. The soldiers therefore fell to sinking of wells, and notwithstanding they had dug a great way into the ground, could find no water. At last there was a spring found in the king's tent, which because it was discover'd but late, they imagin'd it sprung up on the sudden, and the king himself was not against its being thought a present from heaven.

Having afterwards pass'd the rivers Ochus and Oxus, he came to a town call'd Marginia, near to which he made choice of places to build six cities in. Two of them were to be towards the south, and four towards the east. They were to stand at a moderate distance from each other, that neither might have far to seek for succour upon occasion. They were all built upon pretty high eminences, and intended as so many curbs to the conquer'd nations : but having now forgot their origin, they are subject to those whom they formerly commanded.



C H A P. XI.

ALL troubles were now quieted ; there was only one rock, which Arimazes a Sogdian had possess'd himself of, with thirty thousand men all arm'd, having provided it with all manner of necessaries for so great a multitude for two years. The rock is thirty furlongs in height, and one hundred and fifty in circumference, being on all sides steep and craggy, and is accessible only by a very narrow path. In the midway to the top, it has a cave whose entrance is

strait and dark, but by degrees grows wider ; and farther on, has large recesses. This cave was full of springs, whose waters being united as they run down the rock, form a river. The king having considered the difficulty of the enterprize, had resolv'd to leave it ; but afterwards was seized with a violent desire to get the better even of nature. However, before he undertook the siege thereof, he sent Cophas, Artabazus's son, to endeavour to persuade the Barbarians " to surrender the rock." But Arimazes confiding in the strength of the place, gave very haughty answers, and at last ask'd, " Whether Alexander could fly ?" Which being related to the king, so inflam'd his anger, that having call'd a council, he communicated to it, " how insolent the Barbarians were to " them, because they had no wings. Yet he did not " doubt (he said) but by the next night, to convince " them, that the Macedonians could upon occasion " fly." And therefore order'd them " to bring him " three hundred of the nimblest and most active " young men they each had in their respective troops, " and such as had been accusom'd at home to drive " sheep amongst the rocks, and almost impassable " ways in the mountains." Accordingly they brought him such as excell'd the rest both in agility and lightness of body, as well as in boldness and courage. Whom the king beholding, said, " It is with you, " generous youths, who are of my own age, that I " have taken towns which were before thought impregnable, and pass'd over the tops of those hills " which are continually cover'd with snow ; with " you I enter'd the straits of Cilicia, and endur'd " without weariness the violent colds of India. I " have given you proof of myself, and have had it " of you. The rock you see has but one way to it, " which is guarded by the Barbarians, the rest of it " is neglected by them. They keep no watch but " towards

“ towards our camp. If you seek diligently, you
“ will not fail of finding some way or other that will
“ bring you to the top. There is nothing so inac-
“ cessible by nature, but your bravery will make
“ some shift or other to get to it. It is by under-
“ taking what others despair'd of, that we have Asia
“ in our power ; work therefore your way up to the
“ top of the hill, and when you have made your-
“ selves masters of it, hang out white flags for a sig-
“ nal to me ; and I shall then take care to advance
“ towards the enemy, and by a powerful diversion
“ hinder their falling upon you : The first that gets
“ up shall have ten talents for his reward, the next
“ shall have one less, and so downward in the same
“ proportion for ten. I am very certain, that it is
“ not so much my liberality, as the satisfaction to
“ please me, that you will look at in this bold at-
“ tempt.” They heard the king's speech with so
much alacrity, that one would have thought they had
already gain'd the top of the mountain ; and, being
dismiss'd, they provided themselves with wedges to
fix in the clefts of the rock, and also with strong
ropes. The king rid round the rock with them, and
order'd them to set about their work at the second
watch, beginning where the rock was most practica-
ble, and wish'd the gods to favour their undertaking :
They having furnish'd themselves with provisions for
two days, and arm'd only with their swords and
spears, set forwards without any great difficulty at
first ; but when they came to the steep part, some
laid hold of the broken crags to lift themselves up ;
others made use of ropes with sliding knots, having
fix'd their wedges in the clefts to shift their footing.
Thus they spent the whole day in fear and labour,
and having surmounted great difficulties, they found
still greater to overcome, and the rock seem'd to
grow in height. It was a dismal spectacle to behold
those

those whose footing fail'd them, tumbling headlong down the precipice, and by their example shewing others what they were to expect. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, they made a shift to get up to the top, being all very much fatigu'd with the continual labour; some were hurt and main'd in their limbs, and were with the rest surpriz'd with the night and sleep. However, dispersing themselves up and down, they laid their wearied bodies upon the rough craggy stones, altogether unmindful of the present danger, and slept till it was light. At last they awak'd out of their profound sleep, and looking curiously about to discover where so great a number of people could hide themselves; they perceiv'd some smoke beneath them, which discover'd their lurking-place. They therefore, according to their orders, erected the signal agreed upon, and found that of their whole number there were missing thirty-two. The king being no less desirous to make himself master of the place, than solicitous for those he had expos'd to manifest danger, stood all day gazing at the top of the hill, and did not depart to take any refreshment, till the darkness of the night hindered all prospect of the eyes. The next day early in the morning he first perceiv'd the white flags, which were the signal that his men had gain'd the top. However, he was uncertain whether his eyes did not deceive him, by reason of the inconstancy of the light, which sometimes appeared, and sometimes was hid in a cloud; but the clearer light put it beyond all doubt. He therefore call'd for Cophas (whom he had sent before to the Barbarians) and dispatch'd him to them again, to try "to bring them to a safer resolution;" and if he found they persisted in their obstinacy (relying on the strength of the place) he commanded him, "to shew them his soldiers who had taken possession of the top of the mountain." Cophas being admitted,

ted, did all he could to persuade Arimazes to surrender the rock, assuring him, “ he would very much ingratiate himself with the king,” if he did not (by the siege of a single rock) stop him in the career of his nobler designs. The Barbarian was now more insolent than before, “ and commanded Cophas to be gone.” Then Cophas taking Arimazes by the hand, desir’d him to go out of the cave with him, which having obtain’d, he shew’d him those who were in possession of the top of the rock ; and by way of ridicule told him, “ That Alexander’s soldiers had wings.” At the same time the trumpets were founding in the Macedonian camp, and the soldiers fill’d the air with their shouts and joyful acclamations. This (as it often appears in war, where trivial accidents have many times great influence) made the Barbarians resolve to surrender ; for, being seiz’d with fear, they could not make an estimate of the small number of those who were behind them. They therefore call’d back Cophas in all haste, and sent along with him thirty of the most considerable amongst them, to deliver up the rock if they might retire with their lives ; but the king was so incens’d at Arimazes his haughty answers, that notwithstanding he very much dreaded lest the Barbarians, discovering the small number of those above, should cast them headlong down the precipice, and so frustrate his attempts ; yet confiding at the same time in his fortune, he deny’d them any manner of conditions. Hereupon Arimazes (being more afraid than hurt) descended into the camp with his relations, and the chiefest men of the nation ; all whom Alexander caus’d “ to be whipp’d first, and then crucify’d at “ the foot of the “ rock.” The rest of the multitude were given to the inhabitants of the new towns, as also what money was found amongst them ; and Artabazus was appointed governor of the rock, and the adjacent country round it.



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

Alexander having made himself master of the rock with greater fame than real glory, observing his enemies were dispers'd here and there, divided his army into three bodies; Hephaestion had the command of the one, Coenus of the other, and he himself led the third. However, his enemies were not all of the same mind, for some were subdu'd by force of arms, though the greater number submitted without risking an engagement: To these he therefore "distributed the " towns and lands of those who persisted obstinately " in their rebellion;" but the banish'd Bactrians, with eight hundred Massagetan horse, plunder'd the neighbouring villages, and Attinus (who was governor of that province) march'd out with three hundred horse, to suppress these disorders, not dreaming in the least of the mischief that was prepar'd for him; for the enemy had plac'd a body of soldiers in the woods that are contiguous to the plains, leaving some few only to drive before them flocks of sheep, that
the

the desire of the booty might entice him into the ambuscade they had laid for him ; accordingly Attinas no sooner discovered the same, but he made all the haste he could to secure his prey, without observing the least order ; so that he was no sooner pass'd thro' the wood, than they who lay in ambuscade fell upon him at unawares, and kill'd him and all his men. This disaster quickly came to Craterus's ears, who immediately repair'd thither with all his horse, but the Massagetæ were already fled ; however, he slew a thousand of the Dahæ, by whose defeat the rebellion was quell'd throughout all the country.

Alexander likewise having again subdu'd the Sogdians, return'd to Maracanda. Here Berdes (whom he had sent to the Scythians who inhabit the country near the Bosphorus) came to him with the ambassadors of that nation. Phrataphernes also (who had the government of the Chorasmians, who border'd on the Massagetæ and the Dahæ) set messengers to acquaint him, he submitted himself to his royal will and pleasure. The Scythians desir'd, " That he
" would marry the daughter of their king, but if he
" did not approve of the alliance, at least that he
" would permit the Macedonian nobility to inter-
" marry with the most considerable persons of their
" nation ; they assur'd him also, that their king
" would come in person and pay him a visit."

Alexander receiv'd both these embassies very graciously, and remain'd encamp'd in the same place, till he was join'd by Hephæstion and Artabazus, after which he march'd into the country call'd Bazarica.

The chiefest marks of the barbarous opulency of this nation consist in having large herds of wild beasts, shut up in great forests and woods, well supplied with perennial springs, which render them very delightful. These forests are inclos'd with walls, and have towers also for the reception of the hunter ;

among the rest of these immur'd woods, there was one which had not been hunted in for the space of four ages, which Alexander enter'd with his whole army, giving orders "to hunt and destroy all the game they could." Among the rest there was a lion of an unusual size, which made towards the king; and Lyfimachus (who reigned afterwards) being next to Alexander, and observing the danger he was in, began to put himself into a posture to receive the beast with his hunting spear; but Alexander refus'd his assistance, and commanded him to be gone, adding, "That he was as able to kill a lion single as Lyfimachus." We must here take notice, that Lyfimachus had formerly (as he was hunting in Syria) kill'd a very large lion single, but endanger'd his life in the action, it having torn his left shoulder to the bone: This made the king upbraid him as he did, and at the same time behave himself with more bravery than he had spoke; for he not only receiv'd the beast with an undaunted courage, but also kill'd it with one stroke. I am apt to believe "the fabulous account of Lyfimachus being expos'd to a lion by Alexander's command," had its rise from this accident which we have mentioned.

However, notwithstanding the king succeeded so well in this bold attempt, yet the Macedonians, according to the custom of their country, made an ordinance, "That for the future the king should not hunt any more on foot, nor without being attended by the chiefest of his nobility and friends." Alexander having kill'd four thousand wild beasts in this wood, feasted his whole army there; after which he return'd to Maracanda, where, upon Artabazus his excusing himself on the account of his old age, he bestow'd his government on Clitus. This was he who at the river Granicus, when Alexander was fighting bare-headed, covered him with his buckler, and

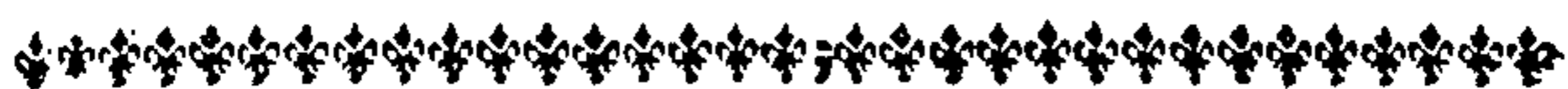
and cut off Rhofaces's hand, as he was ready to discharge a great blow on the king's head. He had serv'd a long time under Philip, and was remarkable for a great many noble exploits during the war. His sister Heliandice had nurs'd Alexander, and was no less belov'd by him on that score than his own mother; this made him commit to his care and trust, the bravest and most warlike province of his empire. He therefore order'd him "to be ready to set out the day following to take upon him his new commission," and invited him to assist at the solemn feast he gave his friends that night. During the entertainment the king being heated with wine, and an immoderate extoller of his own performances, began to enlarge upon the great things he had done, to such a degree as to be troublesome to the ears even of them who were sensible of the truth of what he said. The eldest amongst them nevertheless heard him with an attentive silence, till "he began to disparage Philip's achievements, and boast that the celebrated victory near Chæronea, was owing to himself; and that he was depriv'd of the glory of it thro' his father's malice and envy, whom (in the sedition that arose between the Macedonians and the mercenary Greeks, when he counterfeited being dead of the wound he receiv'd therein) he protected with his buckler, killing with his own hand those who were rushing in upon him: yet his father was never willing to acknowledge this piece of service, as being loth to confess he ow'd his life to his son. That therefore after his expedition against the Illyrians, he writ to his father that the enemy was vanquish'd without Philip's assistance. Those, he said, deserv'd commendation who did not stop at the borders of Samothracia, when Asia ought to be burnt and laid waste, but who by their great actions surpass'd all belief."

These and the like sayings were grateful enough to the young men, but the seniors did not at all like them, especially on Philip's account, under whom they had serv'd a longer time than under him, Hereupon Clitus, who was not very sober himself, turning to those who sat below him, recited some verses out of Euripides, yet after such a manner that the sound was rather heard than the words distinguish'd by the king. They were to this effect, " that it was an ill
 " custom among the Greeks to inscribe only the
 " names of their kings on the trophies ; by which
 " means they run away with the glory that was ac-
 " quir'd by other people's blood." The king there-
 fore suspecting what he said had something malicious in it, ask'd those who were next him, what Clitus had said ? but as they remain'd silent, Clitus began to speak in a louder tone " of Philip's actions, and con-
 " cerning the wars in Greece, preferring them to what
 " was now done." This caus'd a dispute between the young men and the veterans, yet the king seem'd patiently to hear Clitus's allegations (whereby he endeavour'd to lessen his praise) tho' at the same time he was inwardly irrag'd ; notwithstanding which he appear'd inclin'd to bridle his passion, if Clitus would have let drop his indiscreet discourse ; but finding he still ran on, after the same manner, it exasperated him very much. Clitus at last proceeded to that degree of insolence as to dare to defend Parmenio, and preferr'd Philip's victory over the Athenians, to the destruction of Thebes, and seem'd to be now prompted by a spiteful disposition of mind to contention, as well as by the wine : so that he did not scruple to say, " If
 " it be requisite to die for you, Clitus is ever the
 " first ; but those shall reap the greatest rewards of
 " your victories, who after the most shameful manner
 " insult your father's memory. You have bestow'd
 " on me the country of Sogdiana, which has so often

‘ rebell’d, and is still not only unsubstu’d, but im-
 “ possible to be brought under subjection ; that is to
 “ say, I am sent amongst wild beasts, headstrong and
 “ rash by nature. However, I shall wave what re-
 “ lates to myself, and take notice of your contempt
 “ for Philip’s soldiers, while you forget, that if it
 “ had not been for old Atharias here present (who
 “ rallied the young men, and brought them back to
 “ the fight they had declin’d) we might have been
 “ still before Halicarnassus. How then can you be
 “ said to have conquer’d Asia with these young men ?
 “ As for my part, I believe what your uncle said in
 “ Italy to be true, that he had met with men, and
 “ you with women.” Of all the rash and indiscreet
 things utter’d by Clitus, nothing more provok’d the
 king than the honourable mention he made of Par-
 menio ; yet for all that he suppress’d his resentment,
 and was contented “ to bid him be gone from the
 “ feast,” without adding any thing more than that
 “ if he had continu’d to talk on, he suppos’d he
 “ would have upbraided him with the having sav’d
 “ his life, a think that he often bragg’d of with too
 “ much vanity.” But as Clitus made no haste to
 obey the king’s orders, they who were next to
 him laid hold of him, and endeavour’d to carry
 him off, blaming him, and at the same time remind-
 ing him of his duty. When Clitus found they
 were taking him away by force, anger mingling it-
 self with his excess of wine, he cry’d out, “ That
 “ it was his breast that had defended the king’s
 “ back, but the time of so signal a service being
 “ elaps’d, the memory of it was become odious.”
 He also reproach’d him with the death of Attalus,
 and at last ridiculing the oracle of Jupiter, whom
 Alexander claim’d as his father, he said “ he told
 “ him greater truths than his father.” By this time
 the king’s anger was so increas’d, that had he been
 “ perfectly

perfectly sober he could hardly have govern'd it ; no wonder then that his senses being overcome with strong wine, he leap'd on the sudden from the table, to the great amazement of his friends, who thereupon did not take time to set down their cups, but cast them away, expecting what would be the issue of so furious a transport : and Alexander snatching away the spear of one of the guards, was for killing Clitus (who still continu'd talking with the same intemperance of tongue as before) had he not been held by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, and as he persisted to struggle with them, Lyfimachus and Leonatus took the lance from him. This made Alexander implore the assistance of his soldiers, and cry out, " That he was seiz'd " (as Darius had been) by his most intimate friends," and commanded " the signal to be given with the " trumpet for them to repair to his palace with their " arms." At these words Ptolemy and Perdiccas cast themselves at his feet, and begg'd " he would " moderate his precipitate anger, and give himself " time to reflect," since he might the next day execute with a greater regard to justice, what the nature of the thing would require ; but his anger had shut his ears to all counsel, so that in his rage he run to the porch of the palace, and taking a spear from the centinel that was there upon duty, he plac'd himself in the entry through which those who had sup'd with him were obliged to pass. Now all the rest being gone, Clitus came last of all without any light, and the king ask'd, who he was ? but after such a manner as sufficiently declar'd the cruelty of his intention. Clitus, who was no longer mindful of his own passion, but only of the king's, made answer, " That it was Clitus, and that he was retiring from " the banquet ;" as he spoke these words Alexander run him through, and all besmear'd with his blood said to him, " Now get thee gone to Philip, Parmenio and Attalus."

C H A P.



C H A P. II.

THE mind of man is in this but indifferently provided for by nature, that he for the most part does not so much as reflect on the consequences of things till they are transacted. Thus the king, when his anger was abated, and the heat of his wine was over, too late perceiv'd the enormity of his crime. Then he saw he had kill'd a man who indeed had taken too great a liberty with his tongue, but at the same time was very deserving on the account of his bravery, and who if he was not asham'd to own the truth, had sav'd his life; he now reflected how unworthily he had sully'd the splendor of the royal dignity, by discharging in person the odious office of an executioner, and that he had by an abominable murder cruelly punish'd the liberty of a few licentious words, which might reasonably have been imputed to the wine. He with horror beheld the entry of his palace stain'd with the blood of a person, who but a little before had been thought worthy to sup with him. The guards in the fright they were in stood like men stupify'd at a distance, so that his solitude afforded him a greater freedom to repent of what he had done. He therefore drew the spear out of the dead body that lay extended on the floor, and would have plung'd it into his own, had not the guards flown in to his assistance, and wrested it out of his hands, and carry'd him into his tent; here he flung himself on the ground, and fill'd the place with lamentations and cries. Then finding he could do nothing else, he tore his face with his nails, and intreated the-standers-by,

by, “ not to let him survive so shameful an action.” After this manner he spent the whole night, and as he was examining himself, “ Whether he had done any “ thing to deserve the deity’s anger to that degree as “ to be abandon’d to the commission of so foul a “ crime ?” He recollected, “ That the anniversary “ sacrifice to Bacchus had not been perform’d at the “ time appointed for that purpose :” He therefore concluded, “ That the murder he had committed in “ his wine and good cheer, was a manifest discovery “ of the anger of that god.” But what most griev’d him was to see all his friends stand like men stupify’d, and that none of them would for the future dare to converse with him ; so that he must be forced to live like the wild beasts, which are sometimes a terror to others, and sometimes afraid themselves.

As soon as it was day he order’d the corps, all bloody as it was, to be brought into his tent, and when it was plac’d before him, he with tears in his eyes said, “ Is this the grateful return I make my “ nurse, whose two sons lost their lives for my “ glory at Miletus ? this brother was the only comfort to the bereaved mother, and I have barbarously murder’d him at my own table : what will “ this unfortunate woman do ? of all that belong’d “ to her, I am the only left, whom alone she for “ the future will never be able to see without horror. “ How wretched is my fate, that I must thus shew “ myself the butcher of those who have preserv’d “ my life ! how can I think of returning to my own “ country, where I shall not be able to hold out my “ right hand to my nurse, without refreshing her “ memory with the cause of her calamity ?” His friends finding there was no end of his tears and complaints, order’d the body to be taken away ; notwithstanding which he remain’d three days shut up, bewailing himself after this manner, till at last the
guards

guards of his person (perceiving he was determin'd to die) broke into his chamber all together, and with much ado prevail'd with him to eat; and that the king might have the less confusion for what he had done, the Macedonians voted and decreed, "That Clitus was justly killed," and were for depriving him of the honour of sepulture, had not the king order'd him to be bury'd.

Having therefore staid ten days at Maracanda, chiefly to recover his countenance, he sent Hephaestion with part of the army into the Bactrian country, to lay up provisions for the winter, and gave to Amyntas that province which he had before designed for Clitus; after which he came to Xenippa, which is a country bordering on Scythia, and is full of towns and villages, the soil thereof being so fruitful, that it not only detains those who are born there, but also invites strangers to come and settle there. The banish'd Bactrians, who had revolted from Alexander, were retir'd hither, but upon certain advice of the king's coming, they were expelled by the inhabitants, so that about two thousand two hundred of them were got together in a body: they were all horse, and accusom'd, even in time of peace, to live by rapine and theft; but their fierce natures were by the war, and despair of being forgiven, render'd still more brutish. They therefore unexpectedly attack'd Amyntas, Alexander's prætor, and the victory was doubtful for a considerable time, till at last having lost seven hundred of their men, (of which three hundred were taken prisoners by the enemy) they fled; they were not altogether unreveng'd, for they kill'd fourscore of the Macedonians, and wounded about three hundred and fifty. However, tho' this was the second time they had rebell'd, they obtain'd their pardon.

The

The king having taken them into his protection, came with his whole army into a country call'd Naura ; Syfsmithres, who was governor thereof, had two sons by his own mother (for amongst them it is lawful for parents to have carnal knowledge of their children) he had with two thousand of the militia, built a strong wall at the narrow entrance into the country, before which there run a rapid river ; the back part was secur'd by a rock through which the inhabitants had made a way by dint of labour. The entry into this hollow way is lightsome, but farther on it is dark, unless some artificial light be made use of ; this hidden passage runs quite thro the rock into the plains, and is only known to the inhabitants.

But Alexander (notwithstanding the Barbarians guarded the place, which was so strong both by its natural situation and art) with his battering rams, quickly beat down these manual fortifications, and with slings and arrows drove away those that defended them ; then passing over the ruin'd works, he brought his army to the rock, which was strengthen'd by a river that run before it, and was form'd by the united streams that fell from the top of it into the valley. It seem'd to be a vast undertaking to fill up so deep and large an abyfs. However, he order'd trees to be cut down, and great heaps of stones to be brought thither. The Barbarians, who were altogether unacquainted with such sort of works, were seiz'd with the utmost horror, when they saw so vast a pile erected in so little time. Hereupon the king imagining they might be brought to a surrender thro' fear, sent Oxartes (who was of the same nation, but in his interest) to them, to persuade the governor to deliver up the rock. In the mean time, to augment their terror, he order'd the towers to be advanc'd, and caus'd several engines to play upon them at that distance ; which had so good an effect, that the Barbarians not
thinking

thinking themselves secure any other way, betook themselves to the top of the rock. Oxartes therefore press'd Syfmithres (who now began to distrust his affairs) " to fling himself on the honour of the Macedonians, rather than withstand their power ; advising him not to stop the career of a victorious army that was marching into India ; and which, whoever should dare to oppose, would only bring others calamities on their own heads." As for Syfmithres, he was not against surrendering ; but his mother (who was also his wife) declar'd she would suffer death, rather than submit to the power of any enemy ; and so put the Barbarian upon more honourable than safe measures, he being asham'd that women should set a greater value upon liberty than men. He therefore dismiss'd the messenger of peace, and resolv'd to undergo the siege. But then upon due weighing of his own and the enemy's strength, he began to repent again, for having hearken'd to a woman's counsel, which was rather rash than suitable to the present juncture of affairs. Wherefore he immediately call'd back Oxartes, and told him, " he would lay himself at the king's mercy, and begg'd of him, not to say any thing of his mother's obstinacy, that her pardon might also be more easily obtain'd." As soon as he had dispatch'd Oxartes with this his resolution, he follow'd himself, with his mother and children, and a great crowd of his relations, without so much as waiting for any farther security from the king, though Oxartes had also promis'd him that. Alexander being inform'd of this, sent a trooper to order them to go back and expect his coming ; where he no sooner arriv'd, than he offer'd sacrifice to Minerva and Victory, and then confirm'd Syfmithres in his authority, promising to enlarge his province, if he remain'd faithful to him. He had
two

two sons which he deliver'd up to the king, who order'd them to follow him in his wars.

Alexander leaving here his phalanx, advanc'd with his cavalry to subdue the rebels. The way was rough and craggy ; however, they endur'd it pretty well at first ; but after some time, the horses hoofs were not only worn away, but their bodies also tir'd ; besides which, the riders themselves were so harass'd with the immoderate labour, that a great many were not able to keep up with him, so that the troops began to grow thin, the extraordinary fatigue overcoming the shame they had to be left behind. Nevertheless, as the king chang'd horses frequently, he continu'd pursuing the flying enemy ; but the young noblemen who us'd to accompany him, were all forc'd to give out, except Philip, who was Lyfimachus's brother, and was then in the flower of his age, and as it plainly appear'd, a person of a genius capable of the greatest things. This youth (which will hardly be believ'd) tho' on foot, kept up with the king (who was on horseback) for the space of five hundred furlongs. Lyfimachus offer'd him his horse several times, but nothing could prevail with him to leave the king ; tho' at the same time he was loaded with his breast-plate, and his other arms. He afterwards behav'd himself gloriously in a wood where the enemy had hid themselves, and protected the king's person, who was closely engag'd. But after the Barbarians were put to flight, that great soul which had so bravely supported his body during the heat of the engagement, at last flagg'd, and a cold sweat issuing out of all the parts of his body, he was forc'd to plant himself against a tree ; but that proving too weak a relief, in his present circumstances, the king took him up, and he expir'd in his arms. This misfortune was succeeded by another, which also did not a little afflict Alexander ; for as he was returning to his camp, he was inform'd

inform'd of the death of Erigyus, one of the bravest of his captains. The king order'd both their funerals to be perform'd with all the pomp and magnificence imaginable.



C H A P. III.

THE Dahæ were the next he intended to march against, for he understood Spitamenes was amongst them. But fortune, who never tir'd in heaping her favours on him, assisted him here, as she had done on many other occasions, and sav'd him the trouble of this expedition. Spitamenes had a wife on whom he doated, and as the fatigues and dangers she was expos'd to in accompanying him where-ever his misfortunes drove him, were become troublesome to her, she employ'd all her charms to prevail with him to desist from flying any farther; and as he had already experienc'd Alexander's clemency, to try to appease the anger of an enemy, he could no otherwise hope to escape. She had three sons by him, which were pretty well grown up; these she brought to his embraces, and begg'd he would at least take pity of them; and to enforce her prayers, she told him, Alexander was not far off. But he thinking he was betray'd, and not advis'd, and that it was the confidence she had in her beauty, which made her not care how soon she came in Alexander's power, drew his sword, and would have kill'd her, if her brothers had not happily interpos'd. However, he commanded her to be gone out of his sight, threatening her with death, if she offer'd to come into his presence; and that he might not be sensible of her absence, he pass'd the nights with his concubines. Yet as his passion for her was great,
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it was the more inflam'd by the distaste he took to their company. He therefore gave himself intirely again to her, conjuring her " never to speak to him
" more on that account, but willingly undergo with
" him whatever fortune did allot them ; since for his
" own part, he had rather die than surrender himself." Hereupon she excus'd her self, telling him,
" that she had advis'd him only to what she thought
" was most for his interest, and admitting she had
" talk'd like a woman, yet it was with a faithful intention ; however, for the future she would conform to his pleasure."

Spitamenes won by this counterfeit complaisance, gave a great entertainment on the account of their reconciliation, where having loaded himself with wine and good chear, he was brought half asleep into this apartment. As soon as his wife perceiv'd he was in a sound sleep, she drew a sword she had under her garment for that purpose, cut off his head, and all besmear'd with the blood, gave it to a servant who was privy to her crime, and being attended by him, came in this bloody condition to the Macedonian camp, where she sent word to Alexander, " she had
" something of importance to communicate to him,
" and which he must hear from her own mouth." The king immediately order'd her to be introduc'd, and observing her to be stain'd with blood, imagin'd she came to complain of some affront offer'd her ; he therefore ask'd her what she had to say ? Hereupon she call'd for the servant that waited in the entry, who having Spitamenes's head under his garment, gave the guards a suspicion, and upon their searching him, he pull'd out the head and shew'd it. But the bloodless paleness had so disfigur'd its features, that it was a hard matter to distinguish whose it was. Alexander being inform'd it was a man's head that the slave had brought, went out of his tent, and enquir'd

quir'd into the matter, which he accordingly told him. The king's mind was now perplex'd with variety of thoughts ; for on the one hand, he look'd upon it as a considerable piece of service, that he was kill'd, who was first a refugee, and afterwards had prov'd a traitor, and had he liv'd would have retarded the execution of his great designs. But then again he detested the barbarous action, of her having thus treacherously murther'd her husband, who had deserv'd well of her, and by whom she had had several children. At last the foulness of the fact got the better of the service it did him, so that " he sent her " word to be gone from the camp, least the more human minds, and gentler manners of the Greeks " should be corrupted by the example of so barbarous a license." The Dahæ understanding Spitamenes was slain, seiz'd Dataphernes (who had been his partner in the revolt) and brought him bound to Alexander, and at the same time yielded themselves to him. Being now deliver'd from the chief part of his present cares, he turn'd his mind to the revenging such as had by his Prætors been oppress'd and ill-us'd. He therefore conferr'd the government of Hyrcania, the Mardi and Tapurians, to Phrathernes, with orders to secure Phradates, whom he succeeded, and send him to him under a sufficient guard. Stasanor was substituted in the place of Arfanes, governor of the Drancæ. Arfaces was sent into Media to succeed Oxydates ; and Babylon (Maxæus being dead) was committed to the care of Deditamenes.



C H A P. IV.

HA V I N G made these regulations, he drew his army out of their winter quarters, where they had been almost three months, and march'd towards a country call'd Gabaza. The first day's march was easy and calm, the next was not stormy and dismal, yet more gloomy than the preceeding, and did not end without some threatening of a growing evil; but on the third, it lighten'd from all parts of the heavens, and not only dazl'd the eyes of the army, but also terrify'd their minds. The thunder was almost continual, and the frequent lightnings seem'd to fall from the heavens before them, so that the army was struck with such a dread, that it neither dar'd to advance nor stand still. Soon after, there fell such a storm of rain, accompany'd with hail, that it seem'd to partake of the violence of a torrent. At first they protected their bodies, by covering themselves with their bucklers; but after some time, their hands (which were wet with rain, and benumb'd with excessive cold) were no longer able to hold them, and they knew not which way to direct their course, since the violence of the tempest seem'd to encrease on which side soever they turn'd. Breaking therefore their ranks, they wander'd up and down the woods, and many of them, rather overcome with fear, than tir'd with the fatigue, cast their bodies on the ground, notwithstanding the intenseness of the cold had frozen the new fallen rain. Others had plac'd themselves against the stocks of trees, which serv'd them both for shelter and support. At the same time, they were not ignorant they

they only chose a place to die in, since for want of motion their vital heat would forsake them. However, the very thoughts of rest was so agreeable to their wearied bodies, that they did not grudge to die in an easy posture. The storm was not only furious, but obstinate in its duration, and the shade occasion'd by the trees, concurr'd with the darkness from the tempest, to deprive them of the light, which is a natural comfort in affliction. The king was the only person could bear these calamities ; he therefore went about, and rallied his scatter'd soldiers, raising them up who were laid down, shewing them at a distance the smoke that came out of the cottages, and encouraging them to lay hold of the first refuge they could come at. Nothing contributed more to their safety in this case, than the shame they had to forsake the king, who they saw was indefatigable, and able to hold out against those evils their weaker natures sunk under. At last necessity, which in adversity is more efficacious than reason, supply'd them with a remedy against the cold : and they fell to cutting down the wood, then laying it in heaps and piles, they set it on fire. One would have thought the whole forest had made but one continu'd blaze, there being hardly room left for the soldiers to stand between the flames. The heat now began to work upon their benumb'd limbs, and by degrees, the spirits (whose operation had been intercepted by the rigour of the cold) gain'd a freer passage. Some of them got into the cottages of the Barbarians, which necessity had made them seek out, tho' hid in the utmost part of the wood ; others repaired to the camp, which was pitch'd indeed in a wet ground, but then the storm was over. This plague consum'd about a thousand soldiers, followers of the camp, and servants. It is said, that some of them who had plac'd themselves against the trees, after they were fro-

zen to death, look'd as if they were alive, and talking to one another, preserving still the same outward appearance that death had surpriz'd them in.

It happen'd at this time, that a private soldier of the Macedonians, being hardly able to support himself and his arms, with much ado at last came into the camp, where being perceiv'd by the king, (who was warming himself by the fire) he immediately leap'd from his seat, and having help'd the soldier (who was almost frozen, and hardly compos mentis) to put off his armour, he bid him sit down in his seat. This man for a while did not know either where he was, or by whom receiv'd ; at last his vital heat being restor'd, he saw the king, and finding himself seated in the royal chair, he got up in a fright, which Alexander taking notice of, he ask'd him, “ if he was not
“ sensible how much happier the Macedonians were
“ under their king than the Persians ? since to these
“ it is a capital crime to sit in the king's seat, where-
“ as he had sav'd his life by it.”

The next day he call'd his friends and chief officers, and order'd them to make proclamation throughout the army, “ that he would make good whatever losses
“ had been sustain'd ;” and accordingly he was as good as his word ; for Syfmithres having brought to him a great number of horses, and two thousand camels, with several herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep, he distributed them among the soldiers, by which means he at the same time both supply'd them with provisions, and made good their damage.

The king having declar'd that “ Syfmithres had
“ shewn himself grateful for the favours he had be-
“ stow'd on him,” order'd the soldiers to provide themselves, each with victuals ready dress'd for six days, and then march'd towards the Sacæ. He pillag'd and destroy'd all this country, and made a present of thirty thousand sheep to Syfmithres, out of the booty.
From

From hence he pass'd into the province which was under the government of a noble satrap, whose name was Cohortanus, who presently put himself under the king's protection ; whereupon Alexander restor'd his government to him, without requiring any more from him, " than two out of three sons which he had, to " serve him in the war." The satrap gave him also the third, whom the king offer'd to leave behind, and made a sumptuous entertainment for him, with all the magnificence the Barbarians are capable of. During the solemnity of the feast, he order'd thirty noble virgins to be brought in, among whom was Roxane his own daughter, who was an exquisite beauty, and neatly set off in apparel, which is a rarity amongst those people. This lady, notwithstanding shew as in the company of chosen beauties, so far excell'd them all, as to turn the eyes of all the beholders on her self, especially the king's, who in so great an indulgence of fortune (against which mankind is seldom sufficiently guarded) had not now the same government of his passions as heretofore. He therefore who had look'd upon Darius's wife and daughters, (to whom none could be compar'd, except Roxane) no other way than with the eyes of a parent, was so transported with love for this young lady (who in comparision to the royal blood, might be esteem'd of mean extraction) that he did not scruple to say, " It " was necessary for the firmer establishment of the " new kingdom, that the Persians and Macedonians " should inter-marry, that being the only way to " wipe off the shame of the conquer'd, and abate the " pride of the conquerors. He added, that Achilles " (from whom he was descended) had not scrupled to " marry a captive. And that he might not be thought " to do an ill thing, he was resolv'd to marry her " lawfully." Her father ravish'd with an unexpected joy, heard the king's speech with inexpressible pleasure.

sure ; and the king in the height of his passion, order'd " bread to be brought, according to the custom " of his country." This was the most solemn way of celebrating marriages among the Macedonians, who on this occasion cut the bread asunder with a sword, each of the contracted parties eating a piece thereof. I suppose the founders of this custom had in view (in the institution thereof) to shew by this sparing and easily procurable food, with how small a matter they ought to be contented. Thus the great king of Asia and Europe, in the festival sports of an entertainment, marry'd a captive, on whom he was to beget an emperor for the victors themselves. His friends were ashamed he should after this manner, in his wine and good cheer, make choice of a father-in-law, out of those he had subdu'd ; but as all liberty of speech had been taken away ever since Clitus's death, they seem'd by their countenance (the obsequious part of the whole body) to approve of the king's conduct.



C H A P. V.

HOWever, as he resolv'd to march into India, and from thence to the ocean, that he might leave nothing behind him able to interrupt the execution of his designs, he gave orders to his lieutenants " to pick out of all the provinces, thirty thousand " young men, and to send them to him ready arm'd, " to serve him both as hostages and soldiers." He also detach'd Craterus to pursue Haustanes and Catenes, who had revolted ; of whom Haustanes was taken, and Catenes, was kill'd in battle. Polypercon likewise took the country call'd Bubacene. Having settled his affairs, he bent his thoughts intirely

This

This country was esteemed to be vastly rich, not only in gold, but also in pearls and precious stones, which were by the inhabitants apply'd rather to luxury than magnificence. The soldiers shields were said to glitter with gold and ivory : That therefore he who excell'd all others, might be no where out-done, he order'd his soldiers bucklers to be cover'd with plates of silver, and the horses to have gold bridles, and adorn'd their breast-plates some with gold, and some with silver. The king was followed by one hundred and twenty thousand men to this war. Having thus prepar'd every thing, he thought it now a proper opportunity to execute what he had a long time wickedly entertain'd in his mind ; he therefore began to consult about the measures which were necessary “ for his usurping the celestial honours.” He was no longer content to be call'd Jupiter's son, but would likewise be believed to be really so, as if he had the same power over mens minds, as over their tongues. He requir'd therefore, that the Macedonians should prostrate themselves on the ground, and worship him, after the manner of the Persians. In these irregular desires, he did not want the applause of flatterers, the perpetual banes of kings, who have been oftener ruin'd by them, than by their profess'd enemies. However, the Macedonians were not to blame herein. For none of them were for subverting the laws of their country. But it was the Greeks fault, who by their corrupt manners, dishonour'd the profession they made of the liberal arts. There was one Agis of Argos, the worst poet that had been since Chœrilus ; and another nam'd Cleo, a Sicilian, who was no less a flatterer by his own nature, than by the common vice of his nation : These with some others, who were the dregs and refuse of their respective towns, had greater interest with Alexander, than either his relations or generals. These wretches

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did

did not scruple to blaze up and down, “ That Hercules, Bacchus, with Castor and Pollux, would all
“ readily give way to this new divinity.” The king
therefore on a festival day, order’d “ an entertain-
“ ment to be prepar’d with all the pomp and magni-
“ ficence imaginable : ” To which were invited not
only the chiefest of his friends, as well Macedonians
as Greeks, but also the most considerable among the
nobility. After he had sat down with them, and eat
a while, he withdrew. Then Cleo, as it had been
concerted, made a speech in praise and admiration of
the king’s virtues, reciting particularly the great fa-
vours he had bestowed upon them ; “ for all which,
“ he told them, they had but one way to make him
“ a return, which was publickly to acknowledge
“ him to be a God, whom they understood to be
“ one ; it being the least they could do, to repay
“ such mighty benefits, with so small an expence as
“ that of a little incense. The Persians (he said)
“ did not only act piously, but prudently in worship-
“ ping their kings as gods, since the majesty of em-
“ pire and sovereignty was its chief protection and
“ safety. Neither Hercules nor Bacchus were
“ rank’d amongst the gods, till they had overcome
“ the envy of their contemporaries. After ages easily
“ believe whatever the present age warranteth. If
“ the rest had any difficulty in this matter, he was
“ resolv’d for his part to prostrate his body on the
“ ground, at the king’s returning to the feast. That
“ the rest ought to follow his example, especially those
“ who were wise, it being their duty to lead the way,
“ in the veneration that was due to the king.” It
was easy to perceive, that this speech was chiefly
directed to Callisthenes, whose gravity and freedom
of speech was odious to the king ; as if he was the
only person who hinder’d the rest of the Macedonians
from paying him that honour. Hereupon Callist-
henes

henes, on whom the eyes of the assembly were fix'd,
 (silence being made) said, " If the king had been
 " present at thy discourse, none of us would have
 " had occasion to answer thee ; for he himself would
 " have requir'd thee, not to press him to degenerate
 " into foreign manners, nor sully the splendor of his
 " glorious performances with so foul an envy, as an
 " action of this nature must necessarily raise in the
 " minds of all his friends. But since he is absent,
 " I'll answer thee for him, That no fruit too soon
 " ripe, is of long duration, and that instead of con-
 " ferring divine honours on him, thou robbest him
 " of them. For an interval of time is necessary to
 " have him believ'd a god, it being from posterity
 " that extraordinary men usually receive this favour.
 " For my part, I wish the king a late immortality,
 " and that his life may be long, and his majesty
 " eternal. Divinity sometimes follows the dead, but
 " never accompanies the living. Thou just now
 " broughtest Hercules and Bacchus for instances of
 " consecrated immortality. Dost thou then think
 " they were made gods by the decree of an assem-
 " bly at an entertainment ? No : Their mortal na-
 " ture was first removed from the sight, before their
 " fame carry'd them into heaven. Dost thou think,
 " Cleo, that thou and I can make a god ? The king
 " then is to receive his divine authority from us !
 " Now let us try thy power. Let us see thee make
 " a king, if thou canst so easily make a god. It is
 " not so difficult a matter to give an empire, as to
 " bestow heaven. May the propitious Gods hear,
 " without being provok'd, thy blasphemous dis-
 " course, and suffer things to be carry'd on with the
 " same success that has hitherto attended us, and
 " grant us to be content with our antient customs.
 " I am not asham'd of my country, nor do I now
 " desire to learn from the Persians, after what man-

“ner I am to reverence the king. For I pronounce
“them to be conquerors, if we receive from them
“laws to prescribe our way of living.”

Callisthenes was listen'd to with great attention, as the assertor of the public liberty. He not only gain'd the silent approbation of the elders, but also their open declaration in his favour, as thinking it a great grievance to forsake their antient customs, and strike into foreign manners.

The king was not ignorant of what pass'd to and fro in the assembly, for he stood all the while behind the tapestry, which he had for that purpose order'd to be hung up before the table. He therefore sent to Agis and Cleo, “to supersede the discourse, and be
“contented that the Barbarians only, according to
“their custom, fell down before him.” And after some time, he return'd to the assembly, as if he had been about some matter of moment; and as the Persians were worshipping him, Polypercon (who sat above the king) advis'd one of them jestingly, who touch'd the very ground with his chin, “to hit it
“harder against the ground;” by which jest he provok'd Alexander's anger, which he was no longer able to suppress. He therefore said to him, “Thou
“wilt not then adore me? Are we so contemptible
“to thee alone, as to be thy sport and diversion?” To which he made answer, “That he neither
“thought the king ought to be jested with, nor
“himself contemned.” At these words, the king dragg'd him from the bed, and flung him on the ground; where, as he lay in a prostrate posture, he said to him, “Dost thou see thou hast done the same
“thing that thou ridiculedst just now in another?” And having commanded “him to be taken into
“custody,” he dismiss'd the assembly. However, after a long punishment, he pardon'd Polypercon.

CHAP.



C H A P. VI.

AS for his anger to Calisthenes (whose stubbornness he had a long time suspected) it had taken a deeper root, and he quickly had an opportunity to gratify it.

It was (as we above took notice) the custom of the Macedonian noblemen to deliver their sons to the king, as soon as they had attain'd to an adult age, to be apply'd in functions not differing much from servile offices. They watch'd by turns in the night at the king's chamber-door; they introduc'd the concubines by another way than where the soldiers kept guard. It was their duty likewise to take the horses from the grooms of the stables, and bring them to the king, whenever he mounted on horseback; they attended him also a hunting, or in battle, and were instructed in all the liberal arts and sciences. Their chiefest honour was, that they were allow'd to sit at table with the king, and that no body had power to chastise them but himself. This band was amongst the Macedonians a kind of nursery, or seminary of generals and commanders. From hence posterity receiv'd their kings, whose offspring were after many ages depriv'd of their states by the Romans. Now it happen'd that Hermolaus, who was a young nobleman of this royal band, kill'd with his dart a wild boar that the king himself design'd to strike; for which action he commanded him to be whipp'd. Hermolaus being very much griev'd at this affront, began to make his complaint to Sostratus, who was of the same band, and lov'd him dearly: This Sostratus seeing how miserably his friend's body was

torn, and perhaps being already incens'd against the king on some other score, put the youth (who was sufficiently provok'd by this usage) on entering into a strict confederacy with him to kill the king. Having therefore given and receiv'd, to and from each other, their mutual fidelity in a matter of such importance, they did not go about the execution of it with a juvenile rashness, but wisely made use of proper persons to join with them in their criminal undertaking, which were Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiadorus and Philotas; these brought into the conspiracy Anticles, Elaptonius and Epimenes. Notwithstanding these preparations, it was no easy thing to execute their design; for it was necessary that they should be upon the guard all at the same time; and it so fell out that they mounted some of them one night and some another: They therefore were two and thirty days in changing their turns of duty, and making the other necessary preparatives; but the night was now come that they were all to be upon duty at the same time, and they were not a little pleas'd at their mutual fidelity, of which so many days elaps'd was a sufficient proof. Neither fear nor hope had shook the constancy of any one of them in all that time, so great was their resentment against the king, or their fidelity to one another. They were all waiting at the door of the apartment in which the king was eating, that at his rising from table they might conduct him into his bed-chamber; but either his fortune, or the merry disposition of the company, promoted their drinking largely; besides, the sports and diversions usual on these occasions spun out the time. The conspirators one while were pleas'd at it, thinking "they should attack him in a stupify'd condition;" on the other hand, they were in pain "lest the merriment should be protracted till day light," because by break of day they were to be relieved.

reliev'd by others, and were not to mount again till that day se'enight; and they could not tell how to hope, that none of their fidelities should be shaken in so long a time. However, as it began to draw near day-light, the company broke up, and the conspirators receiv'd the king, overjoy'd they had now an opportunity to execute their criminal design; when a woman (who, as it was thought, was disturb'd in mind, and was us'd to be about the palace, because she pretended to foretel what was to come) not only came and met him, but oppos'd his coming out, and by her countenance and eyes signifying the emotion of her soul, advis'd him to go back again, and drink on. The king, as it were in jest, made answer, "That the gods gave good counsel;" and calling back his friends, continu'd drinking till two hours after day-light. By this time others of the band had succeeded in the conspirators post, notwithstanding which they did not go off, tho' they had fulfil'd their duty; "so obstinate is the hope of man when he passionately desires any thing." When the king came out he spoke to them in more courteous terms than usual, and bid them "go and take their rest, since they had watch'd all the night;" and to recompence their extraordinary diligence, he order'd them "every one fifty sesterces," commending "their zeal, which had prompted them to remain after they were reliev'd." Having lost their opportunity, they retir'd all to their own homes. All the rest impatiently expected the return of their duty; but Epimenes, whether suddenly chang'd by the king's obliging behaviour to him and the other conspirators, or out of opinion that the gods oppos'd their wicked intentions, went immediately to his brother Eurylochus, from whom till then he had conceal'd the matter) and reveal'd to him the whole design.

The punishment of Philotas was so fresh in all their memories, that he presently seiz'd his brother, and brought him to the palace, where having rais'd the guards, he told them, " That what he came
 " about related to the king's safety." The unseasonable time they came at, and their disturb'd countenance, together with the dejected looks of one of them, alarm'd Ptolemæus and Leonatus, who commanded the guard at the king's chamber. They therefore immediately open'd the door, and carrying in a light waken'd the king, who by reason of his hard drinking was in a profound sleep; but having by little and little recollected his spirits, he ask'd them, " What was their business?" Then Eurylochus made answer, " That the gods had not entirely
 " forsaken their family, since his brother (who had
 " dar'd to be concern'd in the worst of crimes) did
 " not only repent thereof, but had pitch'd upon him
 " to discover the same. The mischief was to have
 " been executed the preceding night, and they were
 " the contrivers of it that the king least suspected." Then Epimenes laid open the whole matter, as it had been contriv'd and projected, giving in the names of all the conspirators. It is most certain Callisthenes was not nam'd amongst them, but he was observ'd " to lend an easy ear to the young men,
 " when they talk'd licentiously, and rail'd against
 " the king." Some did not scruple to say, that when Hermolaus complain'd to him of his being whipp'd by the king's orders, he made this answer, " That they ought to remember that they were now
 " men;" but it is still doubtful, " Whether he said
 " this to comfort him in his affliction, or to exasperate his provok'd mind." When the king was thoroughly awak'd, and duly consider'd the greatness of the danger he had escap'd, he immediately
 order'd

order'd Eurylochus fifty talents, giving him at the same time the forfeited estate of a certain rich man call'd Tyridates, and restor'd his brother to him, even before he made it his request. But he order'd the rest of the conspirators, and with them Callisthenes, to be laid in irons and strictly guarded, who being brought to the palace, he slept all that day and the following night, being heavy with the excess of wine and sitting up.

The next day he call'd a general council, at which assisted the fathers and nearest relations of those whose cause was in agitation, and who for that reason were not safe themselves, it being the practice of the Macedonians to punish with death all those who were related by blood to traytors. Then the king commanded "all the prisoners to be brought in, except Callisthenes, who presently confess'd the crime they had intended, and as every one cry'd out against them, the king ask'd them "What he had done to
"them to provoke them to so horrible an enter-
"prise?"



C H A P. VII.

WHEN Hermolaus saw all the rest remain'd silent like men astonish'd, he expressed himself in these terms; "Since you seem to be ignorant
"of the matter, I must tell you, that we conspir'd
"your death, because you began to treat us not like
"free-born men, but like slaves." At these words his father Sopolis got up, and calling him "the base
"murderer of his parent as well as king;" and clapping his hand to his mouth, said, "He was di-
"fracted

“tracted with his crime, and the evils that attended
 “it, and ought not to be suffer’d to say any more.”
 But the king reprimanding his father, bid Hermolaus
 “speak what he had learn’d from his master Callist-
 “henes.” “I shall then (said Hermolaus) make
 “use of the favour you grant me, and tell you what
 “our own sufferings have taught me : How small is
 “the number of Macedonians that have escap’d your
 “fury ? How few are there left, I say, besides those
 “of the most ignoble blood ? Attalus, Philotas and
 “Parmenio, Lyncestes, Alexander, and Clitus, with
 “reference to the enemies, are still alive ; they are
 “still in their posts, protecting you with their buck-
 “lers, cheerfully receiving wounds to promote your
 “glory, and gain you victories, and indeed you
 “have nobly requited them ; for one of them stain’d
 “your table with his blood, and you thought it too
 “great a favour to punish the other with a simple
 “death ; you have put the bravest generals of your
 “army to the rack, that the horrible sight might be
 “a grateful spectacle to the Persians they had con-
 “quer’d. As for Parmenio, you barbarously mur-
 “ther’d him, without suffering him to plead, tho’
 “he had taken off Attalus your enemy. Thus you
 “by turns make use of the hands of the wretched to
 “satisfy your cruelty ; and those who have been the
 “instruments of your murderers, are quickly after
 “sacrific’d by others.” The whole assembly now
 was in an uproar, and his father drew his sword to
 kill him, had he not been hinder’d by the king, who
 bid Hermolaus continue his speech, and desir’d the
 company “to bear patiently the unhappy wretch,
 “who freely aggravated his own crime.” They be-
 ing with difficulty restrain’d, Hermolaus said again :
 “How bountifully you permit children unskill’d in
 “the art of oratory to plead their cause ! But the
 “voice of Callisthenes must be shut up in prison, be-
 “cause

“ cause he alone knows how to speak : Why is he
“ not brought forth, since they who confess them-
“ selves guilty are heard ? But the reason is plain,
“ you are afraid to hear the free speech of the inno-
“ cent, nay, you cannot so much as bear his looks.
“ However, I’ll do him that justice, as publickly to
“ declare he was not any way concern’d with us.
“ They are here present who join’d with me in the
“ glorious undertaking. There is not any one that
“ charges Callisthenes with being privy to the design ;
“ yet he has been a long time destin’d a sacrifice by
“ our most gracious and most patient king. These are
“ the noble rewards of the Macedonians, whose blood
“ you make an abuse of, as a thing in itself super-
“ fluous and sordid. As for your own part, you
“ have thirty thousand mules laden with captive
“ gold, when at the same time your soldiers have
“ nothing to carry home to their families, but their
“ scars and wounds. Yet we made a shift to bear
“ all these grievances till you deliver’d us up to the
“ Barbarians, and by a new and unheard-of method
“ the conquerors are by you enslaved. You delight
“ in the dress as well as discipline of the Persians,
“ and perfectly hate your own country’s manners.
“ It was therefore the king of the Persians, and not
“ of the Macedonians, we would have kill’d ; and
“ we prosecute you as a deserter, by the law of
“ arms. You were for having the Macedonians
“ adore you as a God : You disown your own father
“ Philip, and if there were any of the Gods superior
“ to Jupiter, you would even disdain him too. Can
“ you then wonder, if men who are free-born cannot
“ brook your excessive pride ? What can we hope
“ from you, since we must either be contented to
“ suffer death, tho’ innocent, or which is worse than
“ death, live in slavery ? Now if you are capable of
“ amendment, you are very much oblig’d to me,
“ since

“ since I am the first that dare tell you what it is that
 “ free-born spirits cannot bear. However be so
 “ good at least as to spare our parents, and do not
 “ load their old age with torments, who are suf-
 “ ficiently punish’d in being depriv’d of the comfort
 “ they had in us ; but as for ourselves, order us to
 “ be taken to the place of execution, that we may
 “ obtain by our own death what we hop’d for from
 “ yours.”

Hermolaus spoke after this manner, to which the king reply’d.



C H A P. VIII.

“ **H**OW false all these things are which he has
 “ receiv’d from his master, sufficiently appears
 “ by my patience ; for notwithstanding he pleaded
 “ guilty to the worst of crimes, yet I was willing you
 “ should hear what he said as well as myself. I was
 “ not ignorant that this villain would be transported
 “ with the same rage which prompted him to kill me,
 “ whom he ought to have reverenc’d as a parent.
 “ It is true I lately order’d him to be corrected for
 “ his insolent behaviour when I was a hunting ; but
 “ I did no more in that than what was customary,
 “ and agreeable to the practice of the former kings
 “ of Macedon. And indeed it is as absolutely ne-
 “ cessary, as for pupils to be chastiz’d by their tutors,
 “ and wives by their husbands ; nay, we grant our
 “ slaves the privilege of correcting children of that
 “ age. This is the cruelty I exercis’d towards him,
 “ and which he would have reveng’d by an impious
 “ murder. As for those who do not compel me to
 “ act

“ act contrary to my own nature, how gentle I am
“ towards them, is well known to you all, and so
“ needless to be dwelt upon. I cannot wonder Her-
“ molaus does not approve of the punishment of par-
“ ricides, since he has incurr’d the same; so that
“ when he praises Parmenio and Philotas, he defends
“ his own cause. You know I pardon’d Lyncestes
“ Alexander, who had twice conspir’d against my
“ life, tho’ he was convicted by two witnesses; nay,
“ upon a third conviction I delay’d his punishment
“ two years, till you yourselves requir’d he should
“ undergo justice. You all remember Attalus had
“ resolv’d upon my death, even before I was king.
“ As for Clitus, would to the gods he had not forc’d
“ me to be angry with him; I bore his virulent ex-
“ pressions to you and myself, longer than he would
“ have bore with me, had I said the same things to
“ him. The clemency of kings and princes, does
“ not altogether depend on their own disposition, but
“ in a great measure on the temper and behaviour of
“ their subjects. Government is made gentle to sub-
“ jects by their obedience; but when all respect is
“ laid aside, and high and low are confounded, then
“ we are necessitated to have recourse to force, to
“ repel force. But why should I wonder he accuses
“ me of cruelty, who dares reproach me with avarice?
“ I shall not appeal to your selves on that head,
“ for fear I should render my liberality odious to
“ you, by making it a burthen to your modesty.
“ Cast but your eyes on the whole army, and you’ll
“ see that they who a little while ago had nothing
“ but their bare arms, lie now in beds of silver, their
“ tables are serv’d in gold plate, they have troops
“ of slaves in their service: In fine, they are so
“ loaded with booty that they know not what to do
“ with it. Oh! but the Persians whom we have
“ overcome are in great honour with me! It is true,
“ and

“ and it is an undeniable argument of my modera-
“ tion, that I do not reign haughtily even over them
“ I have subdu’d. I did not come into Asia utterly
“ to exterminate whole nations, nor to make a desert
“ of one half of the world; but to behave myself
“ so towards those I should overcome, that they
“ might not be griev’d at my victories. This gentle
“ usage is the cause they cheerfully serve in the war
“ with you, and do not scruple to shed their blood
“ to enlarge your empire; whereas, had they been
“ haughtily dealt with, they would have rebell’d.
“ The possession of what we get by the sword
“ is not very durable, but the obligation of good
“ offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep
“ Asia, and not simply pass thro’ it, our clemency
“ must extend to them also; and their fidelity will
“ made our empire everlasting. As for ourselves,
“ we have more than we know what to do with, and
“ it must be an insatiable avaritious temper indeed to
“ continue filling what already runs over. It is said
“ again, that I introduce the manners of the Barba-
“ rians among the Macedonians! Why truly, I ob-
“ serve in many nations those customs which we
“ need not be ashamed to imitate; nor is it possible
“ to govern well so large an empire, without com-
“ municating some things to them, and learning
“ others from them. It was ridiculous enough in
“ Hermolaus, that he would have had me disown
“ Jupiter, who thought fit by his oracle to own me
“ for his son: Do the answers of the gods depend on
“ me? He was pleas’d to offer me the title of son;
“ and I thought to receive it would very much con-
“ tribute to the success of what I had in view. I
“ wish the Indians also could be persuaded I was a
“ god; for war depends much upon fame, and
“ sometimes a false report believ’d has had the effect
“ of a truth. Do you think it is out of luxury that
“ I

“ I cause your arms to be adorn’d with gold and
“ silver ? No, I design’d thereby to convince those
“ people amongst whom there is nothing more com-
“ mon than those metals, that the Macedonians, who
“ are invincible in all other respects, are not to be
“ outv’y’d even in that. I shall by this means first
“ conquer the eyes of these Barbarians, who set them
“ only on low and contemptible things ; and make
“ them sensible, that it is not out of greediness of
“ gold and silver, but out of a thirst after honour,
“ and to subdue the whole world, that we are come
“ to them : Of which glory, thou parricide, would’st
“ fain have robb’d us ; and having depriv’d the Ma-
“ cedonians of their king, have deliver’d them up a
“ prey to the conquer’d nations. I am desir’d by
“ thee to spare your parents ; now that you might
“ perish with the greater concern (if you have any
“ love for your parents) you ought to be kept igno-
“ rant of my intentions therein ; but it is a long
“ time since I abolish’d that custom of putting to
“ death the innocent relations with the guilty ; and I
“ do now protest, that they shall all hold their re-
“ spective stations, and be as much in my favour as
“ before. The reason why thou wouldst have had
“ Callisthenes brought forth (who alone thinkest
“ thee to be a man of courage, and that too only
“ because thou art a ruffian) is this, that he might
“ before this assembly have spoke the same outrage-
“ ous things thou hast lately learn’d of him, and
“ now villanously utter’d thyself against me. How-
“ ever, had he been a Macedonian by birth, he had
“ appear’d here with thee, a worthy master of such
“ a disciple ; but as he is an Olynthian, he has not
“ the same privilege.” After this speech he dis-
“ miss’d the council, and order’d “ those who were
“ condemn’d, to be deliver’d into the hands of their
“ own companions ;” who, to shew their zeal for
the

the king's safety, tormented them cruelly, and then kill'd them. Callisthenes also dy'd upon the rack; he was altogether innocent of the conspiracy against the king's person, but was not at all of a complaisant humour, nor qualify'd by nature for the flatteries of a court. The death of this man procur'd Alexander more ill will than that of any other, by reason he was a man of probity and learning, and had persuaded him to live, when (having kill'd Clitus) he had resolv'd to die. It was the more dislik'd because he not only put him to death, but tortur'd him, and all this without so much as granting him a hearing. The king repented (but too late) of this cruelty.



C H A P. IX.

BUT that he might not remain in idleness, which is apt to give birth to, and foment false rumours, he advanc'd towards India, getting always more glory during the war, than he could maintain after the victory. The whole country of India lies chiefly towards the east, extending itself more in length than in breadth. To the southward it is hilly, the rest of it is flat and open, and is water'd by several considerable rivers, which have their rise from mount Caucasus, and pass pleasantly thro' the plains. The Indus is the coldest of them all, and its water differs in colour but little from that of the sea. The Ganges is remarkable from its first appearance, and runs to the southward in a direct channel, washing the tops of several mountains, after which the rocks that lie in its way turn its course to the eastward. It empties itself into the Red Sea, and by its rapid course
cats

eats away its banks, and carries along with it a great many trees with part of the ground they grew upon. Its current is obstructed in many places by rocks which beat it back, but where it finds a gentler bed, it stagnates and forms islands. The Acesines swells it: the Ganges intercepts this river a little before it discharges itself into the sea; at their first meeting they dash furiously against each other, for the Ganges is very rough where it receives it, and the Acesines is too violent to give way to the other's resisting streams. The Dyardenes is less celebrated, because it runs along the extremities of India; however, it is remarkable for this, that it not only affords crocodiles, as the Nilus does, but also dolphins and several other animals unknown to other nations. The Erymanthus has frequent turnings and windings, and is by the inhabitants let into several cuts for the more convenient watering of the country, which makes it have but a small channel, and even lose its name where it runs into the sea. This kingdom is water'd by several other rivers, which are of less note, because they do not run so far into it.

That part of the country that lies nearest the sea, is for the most part blasted by the north winds; but these winds being restrain'd by the tops of the mountains, cannot penetrate into the inward parts, for which reason they are very fruitful; yet this country's climate is so different from the rest of the world, that when other places are parch'd up with the scorching heat of the sun, India is covered with snow; and when other regions are frozen, the heat is here almost intolerable, no body being able to account for the cause.

The Indian sea does not differ in colour from other seas, yet having receiv'd its name from king Erythras, the ignorant have believed its waters were red. The land produces a great deal of flax, wherewith the
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major part of the inhabitants cloath themselves. The inward bark of the trees receives the characters of letters as well as paper, and the birds may be taught to imitate the founds of a human voice. The beasts that are bred here are different from those of other nations, the Rhinoceros will live here, but not breed. The Indian elephants are stronger than those that are tam'd in Africa, and they are larger proportionably to their strength. Gold is to be found in several rivers of this country, which glide along with a gentle stream. The sea doth cast both pearls and precious stones on the shore, which is the chief cause of their wealth, especially since they have communicated their vices to foreign nations ; for these excrements of the working sea, are look'd upon to be worth whatever luxury rates them at. There, as well as elsewhere, the minds of men seem to be form'd according to the different situation of the country. They cover their bodies with linnen garments down to the feet : they bind their feet with sandals, and their heads with rolls of linnen. Those amongst them who are distinguish'd from the rest, either by their nobility of birth or riches, have precious stones hanging at their ears, and adorn their arms as well as wrists, with bracelets and other ornaments of gold. They comb their hair often, but seldom cut it. They shave the rest of their face very smooth, but the beard on their chins remains untouch'd. The luxury of their kings (which they call magnificence) goes beyond the excesses of all other nations. When the king is pleas'd to appear publickly, there are proper officers, who with silver censers perfume all the way through which he is to pass. He is carry'd in a litter of gold, curiously set off with pearls that hang down all round it. The linnen with which he is cloath'd, is finely embroider'd with gold and purple. His body-guards follow the litter, some of them carrying boughs full of
of

of birds, which by their agreeable notes, are taught to divert them in their more serious affairs.

The palace is supported with gilded pillars, upon which vines are curiously engrav'd, whereon the effigies of those birds they most delight in, are represented in silver. The palace is open to all comers, while the king is combing himself and dressing; during which time, he gives audience to ambassadors, and administers justice to his people. When his sandals are taken off, they anoint his feet with odoriferous unguents. His greatest labour is hunting, which is perform'd in a park, where he shoots the wild beasts, whilst his concubines are fingering, and offering up their vows for him. The arrows are two cubits in length, which they let fly with a greater effort than effect, by reason they are clogg'd with an unwieldy weight, which retards their swiftness, wherein their force chiefly consists. In small journeys, he rides on horseback; but in longer progresses, he is drawn in a chariot by elephants, whose vast bodies are covered all over with gold trappings. And that nothing may be wanting to their corrupt manners, he is follow'd by a long train of concubines in golden litters: this troop marches separately from the queen's, but it equal to it in point of luxury. It is the business of women to prepare his victuals; they also serve him with wine, of which all the Indians drink largely.

When the king is overcome with wine and sleep, these concubines carry him into his chamber, invoking the gods of the night, in their country hymns. Who would imagine, that where vice seems to reign so absolutely, there should be any regard had to wisdom? yet there is a rural and rigid sect amongst them, which they distinguish by the title of, wise men. These men esteem it a glorious thing to prevent their natural death; they therefore, when age begins to be burthensome to them, or are otherwise indispos'd

indispos'd in health, order themselves to be burnt alive ; looking upon it as a disgrace to their lives, patiently to expect the hour of death. For this reason, no honours are shewn to the bodies of those who die of old age ; the fire is defil'd, they think, unless it receives them breathing. There is another sort of wise men amongst them, who live in towns after a civil manner. They are said to be well skill'd in the motion of the planets, and to foretel future events. They hold, that no body hastens on his own dissolution, who has courage enough to wait the decrees of nature. They worship for Gods, whatever they have a fancy for, but trees especially ; to violate which, is a capital crime with them. Their months contain'd but fifteen days, notwithstanding which their years are compleat. They compute their time by the course of the moon, but not as most people do, when that planet fills its orb ; but when it begins to hollow itself into horns. This is the cause that they who reckon their months after this manner, have them much shorter than other people. There are several other things related of them, which I did not think worth the while to interrupt the order of my history with.



C H A P. X.

Alexander being enter'd into India, the little kings of the country went to meet him, and submit themselves to him, telling him, “ he was the
 “ third of Jupiter’s off-spring, that had reach’d their
 “ country. Bacchus and Hercules they knew by
 “ fame only ; but they had the honour to behold
 “ him, and be bless’d with his presence.” The
 I king

king having receiv'd them graciously, order'd them to accompany him, designing to make use of them as guides in his march. But when he saw that none of the rest came, he sent Hephæstion and Pêrdiccas with part of the army before, to subdue such as were unwilling to submit to his power, ordering them "to advance as far as the river Indus, and there to prepare boats to transport his army over the same."

Now because there were several rivers to pass, they so contriv'd the boats that they might be taken to pieces, and carry'd in waggons, and put together again when occasion requir'd. Then having commanded Craterus to follow him with the phalanx, he advanc'd with the cavalry and light-arm'd forces, and after a small engagement, drove a body of the enemies (which came to oppose him) into the next town. By this time Craterus was come up to him. That therefore he might strike a terror amongst these people, who had not yet experienc'd the Macedonians arms, he gave orders to put all to the sword, burning the fortifications of the place. But whilst he was riding about the walls, he was wounded with an arrow. However, he took the town, and having kill'd all the inhabitants, he did not so much as spare the houses.

Having conquer'd this inconsiderable people, he came to a city call'd Nyssa, and pitch'd his camp before the walls thereof in a woody ground. Here the night-cold was so sharp, that it very much incommoded the army, but it was easily remedied by fires. For having cut down the wood, they kindled such a flame, that it reach'd the burying-places of the townsmen, which being built with old cedar, quickly took fire, which spreading it self on all sides, burnt them down to the ground. By this time the barking of the dogs from the town, and the noise of the army from the camp, were reciprocally heard, so that the in-

habitants were sensible the enemy was at hand, and the Macedonians understood they were near the town.

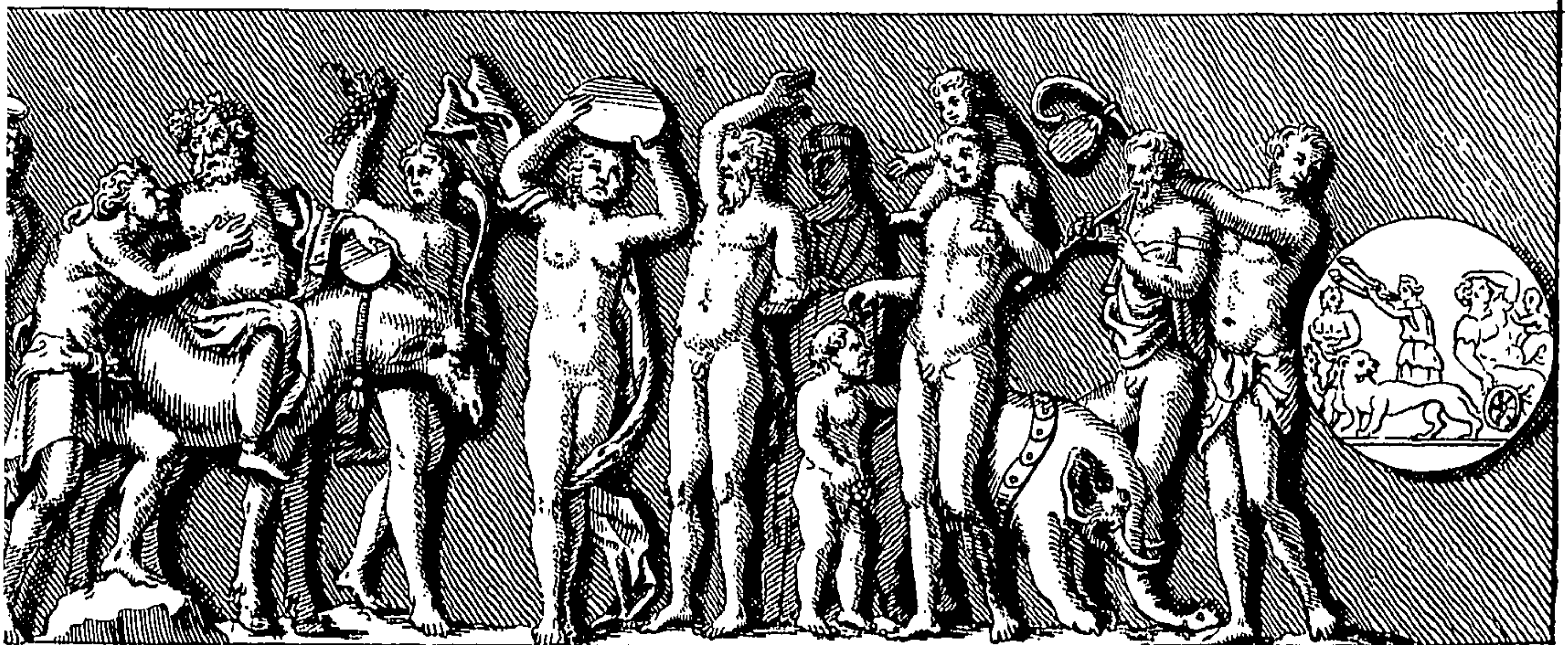
The king therefore drew out his troops, and as he prepar'd to besiege the place, some of the townsmen made a sally, but were all kill'd. After this, some of the besieged were for surrendering, while others again were for trying a battle. Alexander being inform'd of their divisions, was contented "to block up the place, without doing them any farther damage." At last being tir'd with the inconveniencies of the siege, they yielded themselves at discretion.

They said Bacchus was the founder of their city, which assertion indeed was true. It is seated at the foot of a hill, which by the inhabitants is call'd Meros, from whence the Greeks took the liberty to feign, that Bacchus had been conceal'd in Jupiter's thigh. Alexander being instructed in the nature of the mountain by the inhabitants, sent provisions before him, and march'd to the top of it with his whole army. It is full of vines and ivy, and has a great number of springs. There is also great variety of wholesome fruits, the earth nourishing the accidental seeds that grow up and flourish without cultivation. The laurel likewise grows here, and it is pretty well cloath'd with wood. I cannot believe it was by any divine instinct, but rather out of wantonness, that the soldiers made themselves garlands of the ivy and vine-leaves, running in that condition up and down the woods like so many Bacchanals. This frolick was begun by a few at first (as it generally happens) but at last spread it self throughout the whole army. The mountains and valleys rung with the voices of so many thousand men, who in that manner ador'd the tutelær god of the grove. Here, as if they had enjoy'd a profound peace, they laid themselves down upon the grass and heaps of leaves. The king was so far from disapproving this accidental licence, that on the

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BACCHI ET ARIADNE CHORVS.



LIBERI PATRIS TRIUMPHVS.

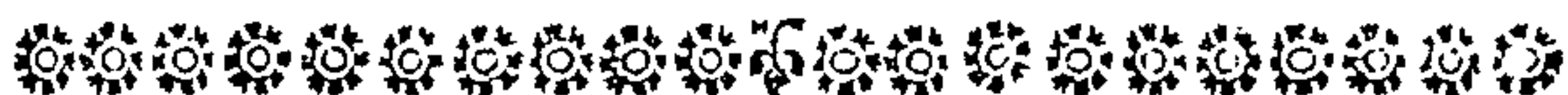
contrary, he order'd them all wherewith to make good cheer, and suffer'd his army to be thus employ'd for ten days together in the service of Bacchus. Who can (after this) deny that the greatest glory is oftner the favour of fortune, than the effect of virtue and merit? since the enemy did not dare to attack them in that drunken and drowsy condition, being no less terrify'd by the noise and roaring of these mad men, than they would have been by their shouts and huzza's in an engagement; it was the same good fortune that sav'd them at their return from the ocean, when they had abandon'd themselves to drunkenness and feasting. From hence he came into a country call'd Dædala, the people whereof had forsaken their habitations, and were fled to the woods and mountains. He therefore pass'd by Acadera, which he also found waste and desolate by the flight of its inhabitants. This oblig'd him to change the order of the war, and divide his army to carry on the war in several places at the same time; so that they were overcome on the sudden, before they expected to see the enemy. Ptolemy reduc'd several towns, but Alexander took the largest. This being done, he again re-united his dispersed forces, and having pass'd the river Choaspes, he left Canus to carry on the siege of a rich town call'd Bezira by the inhabitants, and march'd himself to the Mazagæ. Assacanus the king thereof was lately dead, and his mother Cleophes had the government both of the town and country. The town was defended by thirty thousand foot, and was not only strong by nature, but also by art: for toward the east it was cover'd by a rapid river, whose steep banks hinder'd the approach to it. On the west and south parts there are prodigious high rocks (which nature seems to have contriv'd on purpose) at the bottom whereof are pits and gulphs, which length of time has sunk to a very great depth; where these fail, there is a ditch of won-

derful labour. The wall that encompasses the town, is thirty five furlongs in circumference, the lower part thereof is built of stone, and the upper of unburnt bricks; yet the bricks were strengthened with stone, which they intermix'd, that the looser substance might be secur'd by the harder. And lest the whole should sink or settle, there were strong beams of timber laid on the top, on which they erected scaffolds which serv'd both to cover the walls, and to make them practicable.

As Alexander was viewing these fortifications, uncertain what to resolve upon (for it was a laborious undertaking to fill up those pits and hollow caves, without which, notwithstanding, it was impossible to advance the engines to the walls) he was wounded in the calf of the leg with an arrow from the wall, which being pull'd out, he call'd for his horse, and without binding up his wound, pursu'd what he was about. However, as his leg hung down, the blood settling, and the wound growing cold, his pain encreas'd very much, which made him say, "that notwithstanding
" he was said to be Jupiter's son, he was sensible of
" of the infirmities of a sickly body." Yet he did not retire to the camp, till he had view'd every thing, and given his orders thereupon. The soldiers therefore, as they were commanded, demolish'd the out-buildings, which afforded a great deal of matter to fill up the cavities with; others cast in great trees and vast heaps of stone, so that thro' the indefatigable labour of the soldiers, the work was compleated in nine days, and the towers erected thereon. The king, tho' his wound was not quite cur'd, came to view the works, and having commended the soldiers for their diligence, order'd the engines to be advanc'd, from whence they discharg'd a great many darts against the garrison. But what most amaz'd and terrify'd the Barbarians, was, to see the towers move; for behold-
ing

ing such vast pikes to advance, without perceiving by what means they mov'd, they concluded they were actuated by the power of the gods. Besides, they could not conceive how such heavy darts and spears (which were shot at them from the engines) could be cast by mortals.

Despairing therefore of being able to defend the place, they retir'd into the citadel. From hence (being resolv'd to surrender themselves) they sent ambassadors to implore the king's pardon, which being granted, the queen came to him, attended by a train of noble women, who offer'd him wine in golden cups by the way of sacrifice; and having presented to him her little son, she not only obtain'd pardon, but was also restor'd to the splendor of her former dignity, retaining the title of queen. Some were of opinion, "that he granted more to her beauty than to pity." It is certain, that the child she had afterwards (whoever was the father of it) was call'd Alexander.



C H A P. XI.

FROM hence he detach'd Polypercon with an army to a town call'd Ora, the inhabitants whereof making a disorderly sally, were beat by him, and drove back into their fortifications; so that Polypercon following them close, enter'd the town with them, and made himself master of it. A great many other inconsiderable places came into the king's power, being forsaken by the inhabitants, who repair'd with their arms to a rock call'd Aornos. It is said, that Hercules in vain attempted to take this rock, being forc'd by an earthquake to leave it. As Alexander was at a loss which way to attack this place, which was very steep and craggy on all sides, an ancient

man with his two sons came to him, offering, for a reward, to shew his men a way to the top of it. Alexander hereupon promis'd him fourscore talents, and keeping with him one of the young men as a pledge, sent him to execute what he had undertaken.

Mullinus the king's secretary, with some light-arm'd soldiers, was appointed to follow this guide, who design'd, by fetching a compass, to deceive the enemy, and get up to the top unperceiv'd by them. This rock does not by a moderate and gentle ascent (as a great many do) raise it self to its height, but stands erect after the manner of a butt, being broad beneath, contracting it self as it rises, till at last it terminates in a point. The river Indus runs at the bottom of it, having very high and steep banks; on the other side thereof, there are deep gulphs and craggy hollows, that must of necessity be fill'd up by whoever would take the place. There was a wood near at hand, which the king commanded to be cut down for that purpose, causing the branches to be lop'd off, that the men might carry the stocks with the more ease. He flung in the first tree himself, the whole army shouting at the same time for joy, and no body refusing now to do what they had seen the king himself perform. These cavities were by this means fill'd up in seven days time. Then the king order'd the archers and Agrians to climb up the rock. He likewise made choice of thirty of the bravest young men of his own band, appointing Charus and Alexander to be their leaders. The last of these, he put in mind of his name, which he bore in common with himself.

At first, all oppos'd the king's hazarding his person in so manifest a danger; but the signal was no sooner given, than this prince, who was of an undaunted courage, turn'd to his guards, and bid them follow him, and was the first to climb the rock. After this.

none

none of the Maccdonians would stay behind, but of their own motion left their posts and follow'd the king. A great many of them perish'd miserably, falling from the rock into the river, which presently swallow'd them up. It was a melancholy spectacle even to those who were out of danger ; but when they observ'd by the disaster of others what they had reason to apprehend might be their own lot, their compassion was turn'd into fear, and they no longer bewail'd the dead, but their own hard condition. By this time they were advanc'd so far, that they could not retire with safety, unless they conquer'd ; and the Barbarians, on their part, rolled down huge stones upon them, who being terrify'd with the danger, and not able to take firm footing on the slippery rock, were easily bore down to the precipices. However, Alexander and Charus, whom the king had sent before with the thirty chosen young men, had made a shift to gain the top, and was already engag'd in a close fight with the enemy ; but by reason the Barbarians were still possess'd of the summit, they receiv'd a great many more wounds than they gave. Wherefore Alexander remembering both his name and promise, behav'd himself with more bravery than caution, but being attack'd on all sides, he was cover'd with wounds, under which at last he sunk and died. Charus seeing him lie on the ground, fell furiously on the enemy, thinking of nothing but revenge, and kill'd several with his pike, and some with his sword, but fighting singly against so many, he fell down dead upon the body of his friend.

The king, no less afflicted than he ought to be at the loss of two such gallant young men, and the rest of the soldiers, caus'd the retreat to be sounded. What sav'd them here, was, that they retir'd leisurely, and with intrepidity : moreover, the Barbarians being contented to have repuls'd the enemy, did not pur-

sue them. However, tho' Alexander had resolv'd within himself to desist from the attempt (since there was not the least probability of success therein) yet he made a shew, as if he intended to continue the siege. For he possess'd himself of the avenues, and order'd the towers to be advanc'd, and caus'd fresh men to relieve the fatigu'd. The Indians perceiving his obstinacy, gave themselves up to mirth, out of an ostentation, not only of the confidence they had in their safety, but also of the victory. But on the third night, the noise of the drums ceas'd, and the rock was every where illuminated with torches, that they might make the safer retreat in the obscurity of the night, through the precipices of the rock. The king having therefore sent Balacer to inform himself of the matter, he brought an account, that the enemy was fled. Hereupon the king gave the signal for a general shout, which struck such a terror into the disorderly fugitives, that a great many of them thinking the enemy at hand, flung themselves headlong down the slippery rock, and perish'd miserably; others of them being maimed in some or other of their limbs, were forsaken by those who were unhurt. The king having thus rather overcome the place, than the enemy, yet he offer'd sacrifices to the gods, as if he had obtained a great victory, erecting altars on the rock to Minerva and Victory. As to the guides who were to have conducted the light-arm'd soldiers, as we said before, he faithfully gave them what he had promis'd them, notwithstanding they did not perfectly perform what they had undertook; after which he committed the guard of this rock and the country round it to Sisocostus.



C H A P. XII.

FROM hence the king continued his march towards Ecbolima ; but being informed that some defiles thro' which he was to pass, were possess'd by one Eryces, with twenty thousand men ; he left the heavy laden part of his army under the command of Cænus to be brought up by easy marches, and taking with him the slingers and archers, he went before, and having driven the enemies from their post, he open'd a passage to the rest of his troops that follow'd him.

The Indians, either out of hatred to their captain, or to obtain the favour of the conqueror, set upon Eryces in his flight, and having kill'd him, brought both his head and arms to Alexander ; who, notwithstanding he forgave the fact, yet he did not encourage the example.

From hence in sixteen encampments he came to the river Indus, where he found every thing prepar'd by Hephæstion for passing the same, according to his orders. Omphis reign'd now in this country ; he had, during his father's life, advis'd him to surrender himself and kingdom to Alexander. His father being dead, he sent messengers to the king to know his pleasure, “ Whether he should take the regal dignity upon him, or in a private capacity wait his coming ;” nay, his modesty was such, that altho' he had Alexander's consent to take the government upon him, he would not make use of it till his arrival. He had been very kind to Hephæstion, and had caus'd corn to be distributed to his troops gratis, but he did not visit him in person, being unwilling to

surrender himself to any but the king; whom (upon information of his drawing nigh) he went out to meet at the head of an army, wherein he had several elephants at some distance from each other, which a great way off appeared like so many castles. At first Alexander thinking him an enemy, and not an ally, order'd " his soldiers to take to their arms, and the " horse to place themselves on the wings, and all to " be ready to engage. But the Indian perceiving the mistake, caus'd his army to halt, and clapping spurs to his horse, advanc'd alone. Alexander on his side did the like, ready to meet him either as a friend or an enemy; when they came together, their countenances declar'd they were friendly dispos'd, yet they could not express themselves to each other for want of an interpreter; which being come, the Barbarian told the king, " That he met him in this " manner with his army, to yield up to him at once " the whole strength of his kingdom, without wait- " ing till he had receiv'd his parole of honour; that " he resign'd both his person and dominions into his " hands, who he knew fought for glory and renown, " and fear'd nothing but fallying his honour." The king being well pleas'd with the sincerity of the Barbarian, gave him his right hand as a pledge of his protection, and restor'd his kingdom to him. He presented Alexander with fifty six elephants, and several other cattle of an extraordinary size; there were amongst the rest three thousand bulls, which are a rarity in this country, and much valued by the kings. Upon Alexander's asking him, " Whether he had " more husbandmen or soldiers belonging to him?" " He made answer, " That having two kings to fight " against, he stood in need of more soldiers than " plough-men." The two kings were Abisares and Porus, but Porus was the most powerful; both their countries lay beyond the river Hydaspes; and they were

resolv'd to try the fortune of the war against the first that should attack them.

Omphis, with Alexander's leave, put on the diadem, and took the name of Taxiles, which his father had bore before him, and which descended of course to whoever was king of that country. Having entertain'd Alexander very splendidly, during three days, on the fourth he gave him to understand what quantity of corn he had supply'd Hephæstion with for his troops, and presented the king and all his friends with crowns of gold; besides which he made him a gift of fourscore talents of coin'd silver. Alexander was wonderfully pleas'd with the generous disposition of this prince, and thereupon not only return'd to him all his presents, but also gave him a thousand talents out of the booty he carried with him, besides a great deal of gold and silver plate, several Persian garments, and thirty of his own horses accoutred with the same furniture he us'd to mount them with himself. As this liberality very much oblig'd the Barbarian, so it very much offended his own friends, insomuch that Meleager having drunk pretty largely at supper, said, "He congratulated Alexander upon his having found at least in India, a person deserving of a thousand talents." The king calling to mind how much he had been afflicted for killing Clitus, on the account of his indiscreet discourse, suppress'd his anger, but told him however, "That envious persons were their own greatest torments."



C H A P. XIII.

TH E day following he receiv'd ambassadors from Abisares, who, according to their commission, yielded up all that belong'd to their master, to his royal will and pleasure ; and after mutual assurance given of fidelity and protection, he sent them back to their king. Alexander imagining that his reputation and fame had by this time startled Porus, and so he might be brought to surrender himself as others had done, sent Cleochares to him, “ to summon him to
“ pay a tribute, and to meet the king on the fron-
“ tiers of his dominions.” Porus made answer,
“ That he would not fail to do one of those two
“ things ; which was to meet him on the borders of
“ his kingdom, but it should be with a good
“ army.”

Alexander was now on the point of passing the Hydaspes, when Barzaëntes, the author of the Arachosians rebellion, was brought to him bound, and thirty elephants which were taken with him ; these were a very seasonable succour at this time against the Indians, for they put more confidence in these beasts than in their army. Gamaxus, who was king of a small portion of India, and had made an alliance with Barzaëntes, was also brought a prisoner to him. Having therefore committed the traitor and the little king to a safe guard, and the elephants to the care of Traxiles, he came to the river Hydaspes. Porus was encamp'd on the other side thereof to oppose his passage, having with him fourscore and five elephants of a prodigious strength of body ; behind these, he had three hundred chariots, and thirty thousand foot,
amongst

amongst which there were some of those archers which we have already mentioned, whose shafts were too heavy to be easily shot off. Porus himself was carried upon an elephant of a much larger size than the rest; his arms, which were finely adorn'd with gold and silver, were a great ornament to his illustrious personage, which was of an unusual bigness; his courage was equal to the strength of his body, and he was as wise as could be expected in a nation so unciviliz'd. The Macedonians were not only terrify'd by the dreadful appearance of the enemy, but also by the largeness of the river they were to pass, which was four furlongs in breadth, and being very deep was no where fordable, so that it carried the appearance of a sea. Its largeness did not restrain its impetuous current, for it ran with the same rapidity it could have done in a narrow channel, and the repercussion of the waters shew'd sufficiently, that there were hidden rocks in it; but the appearance of men and horses that covered the bank was still more terrible. There stood those huge bulks of over-grown bodies, the elephants, which being on purpose provok'd, fill'd the air with a horrible noise. Thus the enemy on one side, and the river on the other, struck with an unforeseen terror, the hearts of those who had reason to hope well, and had so often experienc'd their own bravery. They could not imagine how their tottering boats cou'd be steer'd to the other side; nor how, when they came there, they could with safety be put to shore. In the middle of the river there were several islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians swam, holding their arms over their heads; here they had frequent skirmishes, and both kings were pleas'd with these small tryals, thinking thereby to make a judgment of the issue of the future general engagement.

Among

Among the Macedonians there were two young noblemen, whose names were Symmachus and Nicenor, remarkable for their daring courage. The constant success of their party had brought them to an utter contempt of all danger. Under the conduct of these two, several brisk young fellows (having no other arms than their javelins) swam over to an island which was possessed by a good number of the enemy ; where, without hardly any other weapon than their courage, they kill'd a great many of them. 'This done, they might have come off with glory, if it had been possible for a successful temerity to know where to stop ; but while with contempt and pride they waited till the enemy was reforc'd, they were suddenly surrounded by some who had swam thither unperceiv'd, and oppress'd with their darts at a distance. Those who escap'd the enemy were either bore down the rapid stream, or swallow'd by the whirlpools. This skirmish increas'd Porus's assurance very much, who from the river side beheld all that pass'd.

In the mean time Alexander, who was at a loss what to do, at last resolv'd upon this stratagem to deceive the enemy. There was in the river one island larger than the rest, which was very woody, and so very proper to cover his design. Moreover, there was a deep ditch not far from the bank the king possess'd, which was not only capable of concealing foot, but horse also ; that therefore he might draw off the eyes of the enemy from watching that convenience, he detach'd Ptolemy with all his cavalry, ordering him to ride up and down at a considerable distance from the island, and now and then by cries and shouts to alarm the Indians, as if he intended to swim over the river. This was executed by Ptolemy for several days, by which means he forced Porus to draw off his army to that place where he seem'd to have a design to pass over. The island was now out
of

of the enemy's sight, and Alexander order'd his tent to be pitch'd over-against the Indian's camp, and his usual guards to do duty before it, exposing on purpose to the view of the enemy all the pomp and splendor of regal magnificence. He also caus'd Atalus (who was about his age, and not unlike him in feature and person, especially at a distance) to put on his royal garments, and make a shew as if the king was there with them, and no wise contriving to pass the river.

A violent tempest retarded at first the effect of this enterprize, but afterwards promoted it, fortune turning to his advantage whatever seemed to be against him. He was now preparing to pass into the island we before mention'd (the enemy being wholly intent on those who with Ptolemy were encamp'd lower down) when on the sudden there fell such a storm of rain, as was hardly supportable to those who were under cover, so that the soldiers were forc'd to quit their boats, and take refuge again on the land. The noise of all this hurry was drown'd by that of the waves against the banks of the river, so that the enemy was insensible thereof. After a-while the rain ceas'd at once, but then such thick clouds succeeded, that they intercepted the light, and made it almost impossible for those who were talking to one another to distinguish their companions faces. This darkness would have terrify'd any body but Alexander, especially being to pass over an unknown river, when they were not certain but the enemy might have possess'd themselves of that part of the bank they were unwarily making to without the benefit of their eyes, as if they sought for glory from the extremity of their danger. But that obscurity which daunted others, he thought was his opportunity; he therefore gave the signal to embark (enjoining a profound silence)

1 and

and caus'd his own boat to put off the first. That part of the bank where they landed was free from the enemy, Porus being still intent upon Ptolemy; and all the boats, except one which was dash'd against a rock, arrived safe, so that he order'd his men “to take to their arms, and form their ranks, “and march in order of battle.”



C H A P. XIV.

Alexander was marching now at the head of his army, divided into two wings, when Porus receiv'd advice, that the enemy had pass'd the river, and were marching directly to him; at first, thro' the common frailty of the mind of man, he flatter'd himself with the hopes that it was Abisares his ally, who was coming to his assistance, according to agreement; but by and by the clearer light made him sensible it was the enemy, so that he sent his brother Hages with a hundred chariots, and three thousand horse to make head against them. These chariots were the chiefest part of his strength; each of them carry'd six men, viz. two who had bucklers, two archers dispos'd on each side, and the other two were drivers, who were not without arms, for in close engagements they laid aside their reins, and cast darts amongst the enemy. However, they were of little or no use at this time, for the rain (as we before observ'd) having fallen in greater abundance than usual, had made the ground slippery and impracticable to the horses, so that these heavy and almost

almost immoveable chariots stuck fast in the mire and hollow places ; whereas Alexander's army being lightly arm'd, and free from all incumbrance, charg'd the enemy briskly. The Scythians and the Dahæ gave the onset, then he order'd Perdiccas with his horse to attack the enemies right wing ; by this time the engagement was general, and the charioteers thinking themselves the last refuge of their party, with a loose rein drove furiously in the midst of the throng, and equally annoy'd both parties ; for at first the Macedonian infantry suffer'd very much by them, but being driven thro' slippery and impracticable places, the charioteers were flung out of their seats, while the affrighted horses over-turn'd some of them in the sloughs and ditches, and precipitated others into the river ; a few of them passing thro' the enemy, came into Porus's camp, who was preparing all things for a vigorous fight. Porus perceiving his chariots thus scatter'd all over the field of battle, distributed the charge of the elephants amongst his friends, and behind them drew up his foot and archers, who likewise had drums to beat, which serv'd the Indians instead of trumpets. The beasts are not at all mov'd at this noise, their ears having been a long time accusom'd to it.

The image of Hercules was carry'd at the head of the infantry. This was a great encouragement to them, and it was esteem'd a great crime to desert the bearers of it, who were by the laws punish'd with death if they did not bring it safe out of the field ; the fear they formerly conceiv'd of him, while their enemy, being now turn'd into veneration and religious worship.

The noble presence of Porus, as well as the sight of these monstrous animals, put the Macedonians to a stand for a while ; for these beasts being dispos'd among the men at a distance carry'd the appearance of
towers ;

towers; and Porus's extraordinary stature was very much set off by the largeness of the elephant that carry'd him, which as much exceeded all the rest in height, as he himself exceeded other men in tallness. Alexander therefore taking a view of the king's person and his army, said, "At last I have met with a
" danger suitable to the greatness of my soul; I have
" now not only to do with beasts, but also with men
" of distinction." Then looking at Cænus, he gave him the following orders, "When you see me with
" Ptolomy, Perdicas and Hephæstion, charge the
" enemies left wing, and shall observe us to be in the
" heat of action, do you vigorously attack the right
" wing; and for you, Antigenes, Leonnatus and
" Tauron, do you press hard upon the center and
" front. Our long and strong pikes can never be of
" greater use than against these beasts, and their man-
" nagers; beat off the riders, and stab the beasts. They
" are at best but a dangerous succour, and may as
" easily annoy as do service: nay, their rage exerts
" its fury chiefly when turn'd upon their own people,
" for it is discipline teaches them to act against the ene-
" my; whereas fear drives them against their friends.

As soon as he had spoke these words, he clapped spurs to his horse, and, as he had projected, disorder'd the enemies ranks; then Cænus attack'd the right wing with great bravery, and the phalanx at the same time broke in upon the center.

Porus took care to oppose the horse with his elephants; however, that slow and unwieldy animal could not equal the horses speed; besides which the Barbarians arrows were of no use to them, for as they were long and very heavy they could not fix them without resting their bows upon the ground, which being slippery, decciv'd their effort, so that while they were preparing to shoot, they were prevented by the enemy.

Porus's

Porus's orders were now no longer minded (as it generally happens where fear has a greater influence than the authority of the captain.) There were at this time as many generals as there were scatter'd regiments. Some were for uniting all their troops into one body, others were for fighting distinctly in separate corps ; some were for making a stand, others were for wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear. In fine, there was no general consultation ; notwithstanding which, Porus, accompany'd by a few (with whom honour prevail'd more than fear) rally'd his scatter'd forces, and advanc'd against the enemy, placing the elephants in the front of his army. These animals were very terrible, and their unusual noise did not only frighten the horses (who are naturally fearful) but the men also, and disorder'd the ranks ; so that they who a little before were victorious, began now to consider which way they should take their flight. Hereupon Alexander sent against the elephants the Agrian and the light arm'd Thracians, who are better at skirmishing than maintaining a close fight. These men pour'd in a great number of darts and arrows amongst the elephants and their governors, and the phalanx perceiving their confusion press'd hard upon them ; but some of these advancing too eagerly against those beasts, so provok'd them by the wounds they gave them, that they trampled them under their feet, and were an example to others to attack them with more caution ; but the most dismal thing of all was, when these animals took up the arm'd soldiers with their trunks, and deliver'd them up to their governors upon their backs.

This made the fight doubtful, the Macedonians sometimes pursuing, and sometimes flying from the elephants, which occasion'd the battle to continue till the day was far spent, till at last they chopp'd their legs with axes prepar'd for that purpose. They had besides

sides another kind of weapon, somewhat crooked, and resembling a scythe, with which they cut off their trunks. Thus the fear not only of death, but of a new torment in the same, made them leave nothing unexperienc'd against them.

At last the elephants, enrag'd with their wounds, bore down their own party, and casting their governors on the ground, trampled them to death. By this time fear had so seiz'd them, that instead of being mischievous they were drove like sheep out of the field of battle ; but Porus (notwithstanding he was forsaken by the greatest part of his people) began to ply those who surrounded him with darts, with which he was provided, and wounded a great many at a distance, being himself expos'd like a mark, at which every body levell'd. He had already nine wounds before and behind, so that having lost a great quantity of blood, the javelins might be said rather to drop from his faint arm, than be deliver'd. However, the elephant that carry'd him (not being yet hurt) made great havock amongst the enemy, till the governor of it (perceiving the king's limbs to fail him, and that dropping his arms he was hardly compos mentis) put the beast to flight, making the best of his way. Alexander follow'd him as fast as he could, but his horse being very much wounded fainted under him, and might be said rather to set him down gently, than cast him. Being thus oblig'd to change his horse, retarded his pursuit. In the mean time he sent “ the
“ brother of Taxiles the Indian king to persuade Po-
“ rus to surrender himself, and not hold out to the
“ last extremity ;” but he, altho' his strength fail'd him, and his blood was exhausted, yet raising himself up at the known voice, said, “ I am sensible thou
“ art the brother of Taxiles, that traitor of his sove-
“ reignty and kingdom.” And at the same time, cast the only dart he had left with such a force at him.
tha

that it pierc'd his body thro' to the back. Having given this last instance of his bravery, he began to fly faster than before ; but by this time, the elephant, who had receiv'd a great many wounds, was not able to go any farther ; so that Porus was oblig'd to stop, and with some foot made head against the pursuing enemy. Alexander being come up with him, and understanding his obstinacy, forbid any mercy to be shewn to those who made any resistance. At these words they ply'd Porus and his men with darts from all parts, till at last not being able to bear up any longer, he began to slide down from his beast. The Indian who guided the elephant, thinking he had a mind to alight, caus'd the beast to kneel down according to custom ; which being observ'd by the rest, they all did the like, being train'd up to do so, by which means Porus and all his followers became a prey to the conquerors. The king thinking Porus was dead, order'd his body to be stripp'd ; but as they were running to put the same in execution, and take off his armour and garments, the beast began to defend his master, and attack the aggressors, and taking hold of him with his trunk, put him again upon his back. Whereupon they presently cover'd the elephant with darts, and kill'd it, and put Porus in a waggon. But the king perceiving him to lift up his eyes, was mov'd with compassion, and said to him. " What madness possess'd thee to try the fortune of
" the war with me, of whom thou hadst heard such
" mighty things, especially when Taxiles thy neigh-
" bor might have been a sufficient example of my
" clemency to those that are wise enough to submit
" to me ?" To which he made answer, " Since thou
" askest me the question, I shall tell thee with the
" same freedom thou grantest me by the question.
" I thought no body stronger than my self ; for I
" knew my own power, and had not yet experienced
" thine.

“ thine. The event of the war convinces me, thou
“ art the greatest prince, and I think it no small hap-
“ piness to hold the next rank to thee.” Being ask’d
again, “ How he thought the victor ought to use
“ him ? he reply’d, as this day’s action shall inspire
“ thee ; by which thou art sensible of the frailty of
“ mortal happiness.” This admonition avail’d him
more than any intreaty could have done ; for consider-
ing the greatness of his mind, which was altogether
fearless, and not in the least impair’d by adversity,
he not only took pity of him, but us’d him honour-
ably. He order’d the same care to be taken of his
wounds, as if he had fought for his service, and when
they were cur’d, he receiv’d him into the number of
his friends, contrary to every body’s expectation, and
in a little time gave him a larger kingdom than he
had before. Indeed, there was nothing more strong-
ly riveted into his nature, than a due regard to true
merit and glory. It is true, at the same time, he
consider’d renown more impartially in an enemy,
than in his subjects ; for he thought that the fame of
these, was a diminution to his own, which he ima-
gin’d receiv’d some additional lustre from the great-
ness of those he overcame.

QUIN



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K IX.

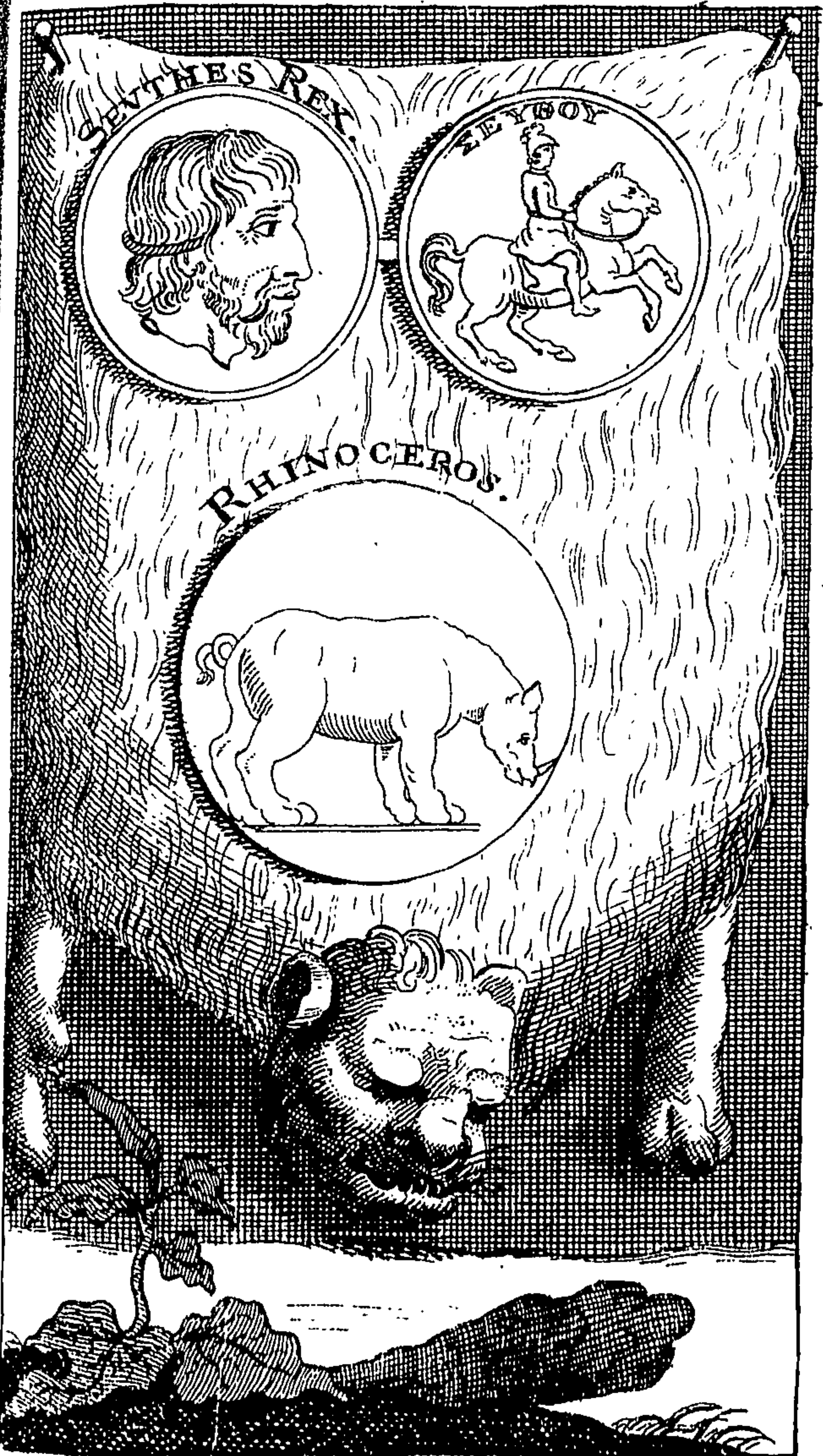
C H A P. I.

Alexander rejoicing at so memorable a victory (by which he conceiv'd he had open'd himself a passage into the east) offer'd sacrifices to the sun ; and that his soldiers might undergo with the greater chearfulness the fatigues of the remaining wars, he made a speech to them, wherein he first highly commended them for their past services, and afterwards acquainted them, “ That the main strength of the Indians had
“ been overcome in the late successful action. That
“ what remain'd, would be only a noble booty
“ for them ; since the country they were going to,
“ was particularly celebrated for its prodigious
“ wealth and riches, in respect to which, the spoils
“ of the Persians were but mere trifles : That they
“ might now propose, not only to fill their own
“ houses, but likewise all Macedonia and Greece,
“ with pearls and precious stones, gold and ivory.”
Hereupon the soldiers, who were no less greedy of wealth, than ambitious of glory and honour, and especially

especially because they had never found his promises fail them, readily offer'd him afresh their service. Having therefore dismiss'd the assembly full of hopes, " he order'd ships to be built, that when they had " over-run all Asia, he might be able to visit the " sea which bounded the whole world." There was a great deal of timber fit for shipping in the neighbouring mountains, which as they were felling, they found serpents of an unusual size; here were also Rhinoceroes, which is an animal very rare in other parts. This name was given them by the Greeks, they being call'd otherwise by the Indians.

The king having built two cities upon the banks of the river he had lately pass'd, presented every one of his generals with a crown, and a thousand pieces of gold besides. He also rewarded the rest in proportion to their ranks, or the service they had done. Abisares, who had before the battle with Porus, sent ambassadors to Alexander, now sent others to him to assure him, " he was ready to obey his commands, " provided he might not be obliged to surrender his " person, he being resolv'd not to live without the " regal dignity, nor to reign in captivity." To whom Alexander made answer, " That if it was too " great a trouble for their master to come to him, " he would go to him."

Having thus vanquish'd Porus, and pass'd the river, he advanc'd farther into the country, where he found woods of a vast extent, wherein were trees of a prodigious height, the greatest part of the limbs equalling in bigness the stocks of trees; for bending down into the earth, they grew up again in the same place, and seem'd rather like a tree growing from its proper root, than a bough rising from another stem. The air is temperate, by reason that the closeness of the boughs mitigate the excessive heat of the sun, and the great number of the springs afford a large quantity of
of



of water, which refreshes the ground. However, here were also multitudes of serpents, whose scales glitter'd like gold, and there is not any poison more virulent than theirs; for their bite was present death, till such time as the inhabitants communicated to them a proper antidote. From hence they pass'd through deserts, to the river Hydraotis, which has a forest bordering upon it, set thick with uncommon trees, and very much frequented with wild peacocks. Decamping from hence, he took a town not far distant, by assault, and having taken hostages for their fidelity, he enjoin'd them a certain tribute, and advanc'd to another great town, which was a great one for that country. This town was not only encompass'd with a wall, but also fortify'd with a morass. The inhabitants of this place came out to fight him, making use of several chariots join'd together; some of them were arm'd with darts, others with pikes, and some with axes, and they would nimbly leap from one chariot to another, when they had a mind to succour their friends. At first, this new way of fighting somewhat startled the Macedonians, who found themselves wounded at a distance, without the power of revenging themselves upon their enemies. But afterwards growing into a contempt of this disorderly rout, they surrounded these chariots, and stuck those who fought in them; and to facilitate the work, the king commanded them "to cut the traces that join'd them together, that so they might attack them singly." Having in this engagement lost eight thousand of their men, the rest retir'd into the town. The next day the Macedonians scal'd the walls, and took it by assault; some few had sav'd themselves by flight, and being sensible of the destruction of the place, they swarm over the moor, and carry'd a dismal account to the neighbouring cities, and put them in the utmost consternation, telling

them, “there was an invincible army of gods come against them.” Alexander having detach’d Perdiccas with a body of light-horse to destroy the country, sent Eumenes with another body to reduce the obstinate, and march’d himself with the rest to a strong town, into which the inhabitants of several others had taken refuge. The towns-men dispatch’d deputies to Alexander, to implore his mercy, and yet at the same time prepared themselves for war: for a sedition happening amongst them, they were divided in their counsels, some preferring any condition to a surrender, while others thought it was to no purpose to resist. But there being nothing consulted in common, they who were for surrendering open’d the gates and let in the enemy.

Notwithstanding the king might with justice have punish’d those who were for encouraging the rest to oppose him, yet he pardon’d all in general, and having receiv’d hostages from them, he marched his army to the next city. As these hostages were led at the head of the army, the inhabitants from the walls knew them, as being of the same nation, and therefore came to a parley with them, and being inform’d by them of the king’s clemency as well as power, they were prevailed upon to surrender themselves; and the other towns following their example, put themselves also under his protection.

From hence he came into the kingdom of Sophites. This nation (for Barbarians) is very wise, and is govern’d by good laws and virtuous morals. Here they do not rear and bring up their children according to the will of the parents, but by the approbation of such who are appointed to inspect and examine the frame and make of their bodies. Where they find any notoriously deformed, or defective in any of their limbs, they cause them to be kill’d. In their marriages, they have regard neither to nobility nor
extraction

extraction, but only to the beauty of the body ; because it is chiefly that they value in their children. Alexander had brought his army before the capital of this nation, where Sophites was himself present. The gates were shut, but no body appear'd either on the walls, or in the towers : This made the Macedonians suspect the inhabitants had either abandon'd the place, or else kept out of sight on the account of some stratagem. But all on the sudden, the gate was open'd, and the Indian king (who far exceeded all the rest in goodliness of person) with two sons already well grown, came forth to meet Alexander. His garment was intermix'd with gold and purple, and cover'd his legs ; his sandals, which were of gold, were all set with pearls and precious stones, with which his arms were likewise curiously adorn'd. At his ears he had pendants, whose extraordinary whiteness and largeness made them almost inestimable. His sceptre, which was of gold also, was neatly set off with Beryls. This he deliver'd to Alexander, wishing him all health and happiness, and thereby gave him to understand, that he laid himself, his children, and nation at his mercy.

This country affords very fine dogs for hunting ; they are said to refrain their cry, after they have once seen their game, which is the lion particularly. That he might therefore shew Alexander the strength and nature of these dogs, he caus'd a very large lion to be brought forth, and only four of them to be let loose upon it. The dogs presently fasten'd upon the beast ; then one of those whose proper business it was, took hold of the leg of one of them, and pull'd it with all his strength, but the dog not yielding thereunto, he began to cut it off ; notwithstanding which, the dog kept his hold, so that the keeper cut him in another place, and finding him to adhere still tenaciously to the beast, he by degrees cut him in pieces, the dog

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keeping

keeping his teeth still fix'd in the lion till he dy'd ; so great is the eagerness nature has implanted in these creatures for their game, as it is transmitted to us from our predecessors. I must confess, I transcribe more than I believe myself ; for I cannot affirm for truth, what I doubt of ; and at the same time, I cannot omit relating what I have receiv'd. Alexander therefore leaving Sophites in possession of his dominions, advanc'd to the river Hypasis, and there join'd Hephæstion who had subdu'd another country. Phegelas was king of the neighbouring nation, who, upon advice of Alexander's approach, order'd his subjects to mind cultivating their land, and then set out with presents to meet him, resolv'd to refuse no injunctions he should lay upon him.



C H A P. II.

THE king having staid with this prince two days design'd on the third to pass the river ; which undertaking was difficult, not only by reason of its great breadth, but also on the account of the many rocks that lay scatter'd up and down in it. He therefore enquir'd of Phegelas, what was proper for him to know ; who gave him to understand, “ That beyond
 “ the river, he had eleven days journey through deserts
 “ parts and solitudes, after which he would come to
 “ the Ganges, which is the largest river in all India
 “ the furthestmost bank whereof was inhabited by the
 “ Gangaridæ, and Prasii, whose king's name was
 “ Aggrammes, who guarded the entrance into his
 “ dominions, with twenty thousand horse, and two
 “ hundred thousand foot ; besides which, he had two
 “ thousand chariots, and (which was still more terrible
 “ by

“ ble) three thousand elephants.” The king at first
look’d upon these reports as so many incredibilities,
and therefore ask’d Porus (for he was with him)
“ Whether this account was true ? ” Who told him,
“ That as to the strength of the nation, there was
“ nothing romantick in it ; but as for the present
“ king, he was so far from being noble, that he was
“ of very mean extraction ; his father having been
“ a barber, and had much a-do to subsist by his daily
“ labour, till his person recommended him to the
“ queen’s favour, who procur’d him the first place in
“ the then king’s friendship. After which, this bar-
“ barous wretch treacherously kill’d his sovereign,
“ and under the pretence of a guardian, seiz’d his
“ kingdom ; then taking off the children, beget the
“ present king, who was both despis’d and hated by
“ his subjects, who were more mindful of his father’s
“ meanness, than of his present fortune.” This con-
firmation of Porus, made the king very anxious ; for
tho’ he despis’d the enemy, and the elephants, yet he
was uneasy on account of the difficult situation of the
places he was to pass thro’, and the rapidity of the
rivers. It seem’d to him a hard task, to seek out an
enemy in the extremity of the world, and force them
out of their strong holds against him. On the other
side, his insatiable thirst after fame, and his unbound-
ed ambition, shorten’d the distance of the remotest
places, and made him think no difficulty unfurmounta-
ble. But then again, “ he doubted whether the Ma-
“ cedonians, who had already march’d thro’ so many
“ large countries, who were grown old in the camp
“ and service, would be willing to follow him over
“ so many rivers that lay in his way, and struggle
“ thro’ so many difficulties of resisting nature ? It
“ was reasonable to think, that they who were al-
“ ready over-loaded with booty, would rather covet
“ to enjoy what they had acquir’d, than harass them-

“ selves any longer to procure more. Moreover,
“ his soldiers disposition and his, were quite different;
“ for as he had engross’d in his thoughts the empire
“ of the whole world, he was in a manner but be-
“ ginning his great work ; whereas the soldiers, over-
“ come by their fatigues and toils, desir’d nothing
“ more than an end of their dangers, that they might
“ enjoy the last fruits of their labours.” However,
ambition carry’d it against reason. Having therefore
drawn up his army, he spoke to them in the follow-
ing manner : “ I am not insensible, soldiers, that
“ the Indians have within these few days spread seve-
“ ral rumours on purpose to terrify you ; but you do
“ not need being told, how groundless such reports
“ are. Thus the Persians heretofore endeavoured to
“ terrify you with the straits of Cilicia, and the plains
“ of Mesopotamia, the Tigris, and the Euphrates ;
“ and yet we forded the one, and by the means of
“ bridges past the other. Fame never represents mat-
“ ters truly as they are, but on the contrary, magni-
“ fies every thing. This is plain from our own re-
“ putation and glory, which tho’ founded on solid
“ truths, is yet more oblig’d to rumour than reality.
“ Who would have thought we could have overcome
“ (as we did lately) those monstrous elephants that
“ appear’d like so many strong fortifications ? Or that
“ we could have pass’d the river Hydaspis ? or
“ grappl’d with a great many other difficulties, which
“ were much more formidable to hear of than they
“ were in fact ? Believe me, we had long ago fled from
“ Asia, if fables could have frighten’d us. Can you
“ imagine there should be greater herds of elephants
“ than of other cattle ? When at the same time it is
“ known to be a rare animal, hard to be taken, and
“ harder to be tam’d. It is the same spirit of falsehood
“ that has represented your enemies to be so nume-
“ rous in horse and foot. As for the river, it is cer-
“ tainly not so deep as they say.”

“tain that the broader it is, the gentler must be its
 “stream ; for it is the being confin’d within narrow
 “banks, and the running in a strait channel, that
 “causes the impetuous current of the water. Besides,
 “all men know, that the greatest danger is at the
 “landing, the enemy being ready on the bank to re-
 “ceive us ; so that the risque is equal in that case,
 “be the river broad or narrow. But admitting that
 “all these reports were true, is it the huge bulk of
 “these animals, or the number of the enemy,
 “that affrights you ? As to the elephants, we have
 “lately experienc’d that they did more damage to
 “their own party, than to us, and that with our axes,
 “and other weapons, we can disable their vast bo-
 “dies. What matters it then, whether they are the
 “same number Porus lately had, or three thousand ?
 “Since we see that one or two of them being wound-
 “ed, the rest immediately fly. Again, it being so
 “difficult a task to govern a few of them, so many
 “thousands of them together, must needs intershock
 “one another, where there is not room for their un-
 “weildy over-grown bodies either to stand or fly.
 “As for my own part, I have always had so mean
 “an opinion of them, that when I had them, I never
 “thought them worth making use of, being fully con-
 “vinc’d, they were more pernicious to those they
 “were intended to serve, than to the enemy. But
 “perhaps it is the multitude of horse and foot that
 “terrifies you ! as if you had been hitherto us’d to
 “encounter but with small numbers, and this was the
 “first time you are to stand the brunt of a disorderly
 “rout ! The river Granicus is a sufficient witness of
 “the invincible courage of the Macedonians against
 “a superior number, as well as Cilicia, which was
 “drenched with the blood of the Persians, and Ar-
 “bela, whose plains are covered with the bones of
 “the conquer’d enemy. It is too late to look at the

“ number of your enemies, after you have laid waste
“ all Asia by your victories. You ought to have re-
“ flected on your small number, when we pass’d the
“ Hellespont ; for at present the Scythians follow us,
“ the Bactrians assist us, and the Dahæ and Sogdiani
“ are engag’d in our service. At the same time, I
“ do not rely on this rabble, it is you, Macedonians,
“ I trust to, it is your unparallel’d bravery and cou-
“ rage I confide in, and is an infallible pledge and
“ security for all the great things I have yet to do.
“ While I am at the head of such gallant men, I shall
“ neither count the number of my own, nor the ene-
“ my’s army : All that I require, is, that you’ll shew
“ me a cheerful countenance, accompany’d with your
“ usual confidence and alacrity. We are not now in
“ the beginning of our work, but at the close of it.
“ We have already reach’d the ocean, and the bounds
“ where the sun rises, and unless your own want of
“ spirit and sloth stand in the way, we shall return
“ home with a compleat conquest of the whole world.
“ Do not imitate those bad husbandmen, who thro’
“ their laziness lose the fruits of their labour. The
“ reward is much greater than the danger ; the coun-
“ try you are going to, abounds in riches, and is at
“ the same time weakly defended, so that I may be
“ said to lead you not so much to glory and honour,
“ as to a noble booty. It is your due to carry back
“ to your own nation, the wealth that sea discharges
“ on its shore ; it were a shame you should leave any
“ thing untry’d, or unattempted thro’ fear. I there-
“ fore not only beg of you, but conjure you by your
“ own glory, in which you exceed all the rest of man-
“ kind, by the favours I have bestowed upon you,
“ and your own merit towards me, in which noble
“ strife we are still contending, that you will not de-
“ sert your foster-son and fellow-foldier, not to men-
“ tion your king. What is past has been done by
“ my

“ my authority, but for this I shall own myself in-
“ debted to you. At the same time that I ask this
“ of you, you know that in all the commands I have
“ laid upon you, I always was the first to face the
“ danger, and have often protected you with my own
“ buckler. Do not therefore break the palm you
“ have put into my hands, which, if not blasted by
“ envy, will make me equal to Hercules and Bacchus.
“ Grant me this single request, and break your obsti-
“ nate silence. What is become of that generous
“ shout, the usual token of your alacrity? Where is
“ that cheerful countenance of my Macedonians?
“ Methinks I hardly know you, soldiers, neither do
“ you seem to know me; but I speak to deaf ears,
“ and strive in vain to excite and animate the broken
“ courage of those whose minds are alienated from
“ me.” As notwithstanding all this, they persisted
still in their dejected posture, hanging down their
heads; “ Wherein, said he, have I unwittingly of-
“ fended you, that you do not at least vouchsafe to
“ look at me? I fancy myself in a wilderness, no
“ body answers me, no body so much as gives me
“ the satisfaction of a flat denial. Who do I speak
“ to? What is it I request? It is your own glory
“ and greatness we assert. Where are now those men
“ who not long ago were contending about the pre-
“ rogative of carrying their wounded king? I am
“ forsaken, destitute and deliver’d up a prey to my
“ enemies. Be it as it will, I’ll persevere in the pro-
“ secution of my design, tho’ I march alone. Expose
“ me to the difficulties of rivers, the cruelty of ele-
“ phants, and to those nations that strike you with so
“ much horror; I shall find those that will follow
“ me, tho’ you desert me. The Scythians and
“ Bactrians will accompany me, and they who were
“ a while ago our enemies, shall be now our soldiers.
“ I had rather die than reign precariously. Get you
“ gone

“ gone home, go and triumph for having abandon’d
 “ your king ; for my own part, I’ll either get the
 “ victory you despair of, or perish honourably.”



C H A P. III.

ALL that he could say, could not force a single word from any one of them. They expected that the generals and chief officers should represent to him, “ That altho’ their bodies were cover’d with
 “ wounds, and quite worn out with the continual labours
 “ of their long service, they did not refuse the
 “ duties of the war, but were no longer able to dis-
 “ charge them.” However, being stupify’d with fear, they kept their eyes still fix’d upon the ground. After some time there arose amongst them a voluntary murmur, and their grief by degrees began to shew itself more freely, till at last they burst all out in tears: so that the king himself (his anger being now turn’d into pity) could no longer forbear weeping. While the whole assembly was thus dissolv’d in tears, Canus took courage and approach’d the tribunal, intimating he had something to say. When the soldiers saw him take off his helmet (it being the custom to do so, when they spoke to the king) they all begg’d of him, “ That
 “ he would plead the cause of the army ;” he therefore express’d himself in the following manner : “ May
 “ the Gods forbid all impious thoughts in us, and
 “ sure they do at present. Your soldiers have the
 “ same inclination towards you which they always
 “ had, and are ready to go where-ever you command
 “ them, to encounter with any dangers for your sake
 “ and to spill the last drop of their blood to recom-
 “ mend your name to posterity. If therefore you will
 “ f

“ sit upon it, tho’ we are without arms, naked and
 “ bloodless, if such be your royal will and pleasure,
 “ we are not only ready to follow, but also to lead
 “ the way. But if your majesty will vouchsafe to
 “ hear the unfeigned representations of your soldiers,
 “ forc’d from them by the last necessity ; lend, we
 “ beseech you, a favourable ear to those who have
 “ always chearfully obey’d your commands, and
 “ shar’d your fortune, and do not want will to attend
 “ you where-ever you shall think fit to go. Consi-
 “ der, Sir, that your great performances have not
 “ only overcome your enemies, but likewise your
 “ own soldiers. We have done all that mortals were
 “ capable of, and by frequent use are better acquaint-
 “ ed with the seas and countries, than even the inha-
 “ bitants themselves. We may be said to stand now
 “ on the utmost bounds of the world ; but as if this
 “ were too little for your great soul, you are pre-
 “ paring to march to another, and to seek out new
 “ Indies unknown to the Indians themselves. You
 “ are for forcing out of their lurking retreats, those
 “ who have taken shelter with the serpents and wild
 “ beasts ; in fine, you are for carrying your victories
 “ farther than the sun’s piercing eye can see. It must
 “ be own’d to be a thought worthy your unbounded
 “ mind, but at the same time it is above ours ; for
 “ your courage and bravery will ever be increasing,
 “ whereas our strength is almost at an end. Behold
 “ our bloodless bodies, cover’d over with wounds,
 “ and disfigur’d with scars. Our weapons are blunted,
 “ and our arms worn out. We are forc’d to wear
 “ the Persian habit, because we are too remote to have
 “ that of our own country brought to us, so that we
 “ are degenerated into a foreign apparel. Who
 “ amongst us has a breast-plate ? Who has a horse
 “ left ? Let a scrutiny be made how many of us have
 “ been able to be follow’d by our servants, and what

“ any of us has left of his booty. Having conquer’d
“ the world, we are destitute of all things. It is not
“ our luxury is the cause of this, but we have worn
“ out in the war the very instruments of war. Can
“ you find in your heart to expose so gallant an army
“ naked, and without defence, to the merciless fury
“ of wild beasts? Whose multitude, tho’ it be design-
“ edly magnified by the Barbarians, yet it is easy to
“ gather from the very false report itself, that the
“ number is great. If after all your majesty is bent
“ on penetrating still farther into India, that part of
“ it that lies to the southward is not so vast; which
“ being subdu’d, you will extend your conquests to
“ that sea that nature has appointed for the bounds of
“ the world. Why should you go the round-about
“ way to that glory which is near at hand? For here
“ the ocean is to be found: and unless you take de-
“ light in wandering, we are already arriv’d where
“ your fortune intended to lead you. I chose rather
“ to say these things in your presence, Sir, than in
“ your absence confer about them with my fellow-
“ soldiers; not designing thereby to ingratiate myself
“ with the listening army, but that you may rather
“ hear their common sentiments from my mouth,
“ than be troubled with their groans and murmurs.”

Cænus having finished his speech, there was heard from all parts a clamorous noise mix’d with lamentations, which in confus’d sounds call’d Alexander King, Father, and Sovereign Lord. Then the other captains, especially the most antient, who on the account of their age were most to be excus’d, and had also thereby the greater authority, made the same request, so that the king was not able to chastise their obstinacy, or mitigate their anger. Being therefore unresolv’d what course to take, he leap’d from the tribunal, and shut himself up in his tent, forbidding any to be admitted, except those who were us’d to be
with

with him. Thus he sacrific'd two days to his passion, and the third he appear'd publickly again, and order'd twelve altars to be erected of square stone, to remain as a monument of his expedition. He also caus'd the fortifications of his camp to be extended, and beds to be left of a larger size than the ordinary stature of man requir'd, designing to impose upon posterity by this excessive outward appearance of things.

This being done, he march'd back the same way he came, and encamp'd along the river Acesines. Here Cænus dy'd. The king was afflicted at his death, yet could not forbear saying, "He had made a long
" speech for the few days he had to live, as if he
" alone had been to return to Macedonia." By this time the fleet he had order'd to be built, lay ready at anchor; hither Memnon brought him six thousand Thracian horse to recruit his army, besides seven thousand foot, which Harpalus had sent by him: He also brought twenty five thousand arms finely adorn'd with gold and silver, which Alexander caus'd to be distributed amongst his soldiers, commanding them to burn their old ones. Designing now to make towards the ocean with a thousand ships, he first reconcil'd Porus and Taxiles, the Indian kings (who were about renewing their former resentments) and having settled a good understanding between them by a marriage, he left them in their respective dominions. They had both been serviceable to him in the building of his fleet. He also built two towns, one whereof he call'd Nicæa, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter to the memory of his horse, which was dead. Then having given orders for the elephants and baggage to follow him by land, he sail'd down the river, proceeding every day near four hundred furlongs for the conveniency of landing his forces in commodious places.



C H A P. IV.

AT length he came into the country where the Hydaspes falls into the Acesines; from whence he fell down the confluence of these rivers into the territory of the Sobii. These people report, “ That
 “ their ancestors belong’d to Hercules’s army, but
 “ being sick were left here, where their posterity had
 “ remain’d ever since.” They cloth’d themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and their weapons were clubs; and notwithstanding the Greeks manners were abolish’d amongst them, yet there was a great many traces still left, that sufficiently declar’d from whence they descended.

Here the king landed with his army, and march’d two hundred and fifty furlongs into the country, which having pillag’d and laid waste, he took the capital sword in hand. There were forty thousand foot of another nation drawn up along the river’s side to oppose his landing, which however he effected, and put them to flight, and afterwards besieg’d the town to which they had retir’d, and took it by storm; all that were able to bear arms were put to the sword, and the rest were sold. After this he lay down before another place, where he was gallantly repuls’d by the besieg’d, and lost a great many Macedonians; but when the inhabitants found that he obstinately continu’d the siege, despairing of their safety, they set fire to the town, and cast their wives, children, and themselves into the flames, which as they strove to feed and increase, the enemy endeavour’d to extinguish; so that here was a new species of contention and strife for the inhabitants destroy’d the town, and the enemy.

mies defended it, so great a change does war make even in the laws of nature. The castle had receiv'd no damage, and the king left a garrison in it, after which he went round the same by water, for it was encompass'd by three of the largest rivers of all India (except the Ganges) which seem'd to lend their streams for its fortification. The Indus washes it on the north side, and on the south the Acesines mixes itself with the Hydaspes. The violent meeting of these rivers makes their waters as turbulent and rough as those of the sea; and as they carry a great deal of mud along with them, which by their rapid concourse is very much disturb'd, they leave but a narrow channel for the boats to pass in. Alexander's fleet being therefore vehemently ply'd by the waves both at stem and on the sides, the mariners began to furl their sails, and endeavour to get off; but they were so disorder'd by fear, that the impetuous swiftness of the rivers was too many for them, so that two of their largest ships were lost in their fight: as for the small ones, tho' it was impossible to govern even them, they were driven upon the shore, without receiving any damage.

The ship the king was in was carry'd by the furious force of the current amongst the strongest whirlpools, which hurrying the ship along with their circular motion, made the rudder altogether useless. The king had stripp'd himself, and was just ready to leap into the river, and his friends were swimming close by ready to receive him; but it seem'd almost doubtful where was the greatest danger, either in swimming or staying on board. The mariners therefore ply'd their oars with all the strength human force could lend, to break the violence of the waves, which at last yielded to their importunate labour, and the ship was work'd out of these raging gulfs; notwithstanding which they could not gain the shore, but were stranded on the next flats. One would have thought it had been
a kind

a kind of engagement with the river ; Alexander therefore having erected three altars, according to the number of the rivers, offer'd sacrifices upon them, and then advanc'd thirty furlongs.

From thence he march'd into the country of the Oxydracæ and the Malli, who tho' usually at war with one another, yet at this juncture were untied by the common danger. They had got together an army of ninety thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and nine hundred chariots. The Macedonians, who thought they had pass'd thro' all their dangers, finding a fresh war upon their hands with the fiercest people of India, being struck with an unexpected terror, began again to mutiny, and rail against the king, " alledging, " that he would lately have compell'd them to pass " the Ganges, and engage in a war with those strong " populous nations that lie beyond the same ; which " enterprize tho' at last he desisted from, yet the war " was not at an end, but only chang'd. That they " were now expos'd to a savage people, that at the " expence of their blood they might open him a way " to the ocean. That they were dragg'd beyond the " aspect of the sun and stars, and forc'd to those " places which nature seem'd to have a mind to hide " from mortal eyes. That as he supply'd them from " time to time with new arms, so they had continu- " ally fresh enemies to encounter ; which admitting " that they overcome, what reward had they to expect " but thick fogs and darkness, and an eternal night " that lay hovering on the deep ; a sea repleat with " infinite multitudes of hideous monsters, and stagnat- " ing waters, in which dying nature seem'd to faint " away ?

The king (tho' void of fear himself) yet was in great perplexity on the account of the uneasiness of his army, and therefore having call'd them together, he gave them to understand, " That those people " they

“ they so much dreaded were altogether raw and un-
“ disciplin’d ; that having overcome these nations,
“ they would meet with no farther obstacle to stop
“ their passage to the end of the world, and put a
“ period to their fatigues and labours ; that he had,
“ in consideration of their fear, desist’d from his de-
“ sign of passing the Ganges, and conquering the na-
“ tions that lie beyond it, and had turn’d his arms
“ another way, where there was equal glory and less
“ hazard ; that the ocean was already within their
“ sight, and refresh’d them with its cool breezes ; he
“ begg’d therefore of them, that they would not en-
“ vy him the glory he so much coveted, since by
“ passing the bounds of Hercules and Bacchus they
“ might at an easy rate make his fame immortal ; at
“ least he desir’d they would suffer him to lead them
“ safely back out of India, and not retire like fugi-
“ tives.” It is the property of all multitudes, and
especially of the military, to be carry’d away with
small motions, so that as a little matter raises a sediti-
on, it is also as easily appeas’d. There never was a
more chearful shout given by the army than at this
time, desiring “ him to lead them where-ever he
“ pleas’d, wishing the gods to bless his arms, that he
“ might equal the glory of those he rival’d.” Alex-
ander was over-joy’d at these acclamations, and there-
fore broke up immediately to advance towards the
enemy. They were the most warlike people of all
the Indians, and were preparing to make a vigorous
war, having made choice of a very brave general out
of the Oxydracan nation. He was also an experienc’d
soldier, and had pitch’d his camp at the foot of a
mountain, causing fires to be made to a great distance,
that his army might thereby appear more numerous ;
and would now and then alarm the Macedonians when
at rest, by the sudden cries and uncouth howlings of
his men. As soon as it was light, the king, full of
assurance

assurance and hopes, order'd his soldiers (who had now a cheerful countenance) to take their arms, and put themselves in order of battle ; but the Barbarians, either thro' fear, or by reason of some divisions among themselves, fled into the mountains, the king pursuing them to no purpose ; however, he took their baggage.

After this he advanc'd to the city of the Oxydracans, where a great number had taken refuge, putting no less confidence in the strength of the place, than in their arms. The king was just going to lie down before it, when a soothsayer advis'd him to forbear, or at least delay the siege, because he foresaw that his life would be in danger. Hereupon the king looking upon Demophoon (for that was the soothsayer's name) said to him, " If while thou art intent upon thy art
" of inspection, any body should interrupt thee, I do
" not doubt but thou wouldst think him impertinent
" and troublesome ; which Demophoon agreeing to,
" Canst thou then imagine, reply'd the king, that
" when my thoughts are taken up with matters of the
" greatest importance, and not with the intrails of
" beasts, there can be any thing more unseasonable
" than the interruption of a superstitious soothsayer ?"
This said, he without any farther delay commanded the ladders to be apply'd to the wall ; and while the rest were hesitating on the account of the danger, he was the first that scal'd the wall, whose coping was very narrow and without battlements, as there is commonly at the top, but was carry'd on with one continu'd head, which defended its passage. Thus the king might be said rather to cleave to than stand upon the narrow margin thereof, receiving in his buckler the darts with which he was on all sides warmly ply'd at a distance from the towers, and the soldiers were hinder'd from climbing up by the clouds of arrows that were shot at them from above. However, at last
shame

shame overcame the greatness of the danger, for they saw that by their delay the king would fall into the hands of the enemies ; but their over-eagerness prov'd a great hindrance to them, for as they all strove who should get up soonest, they so loaded the ladders that they broke under them. and disappointed the king of the only hope he had ; by this means standing in the sight of so numerous an army, he might be said to be as destitute as if he had been in a desert.



C H A P. V.

BY this time his left arm (with which he held his buckler) was tir'd with parrying the strokes that were made at him, and his friends cry'd out to him to leap down to them, who stood ready to receive him ; but he instead thereof did what surpasses all belief, and serves rather to represent his rashness than to increase his glory, for with an unheard-of temerity he leap'd into the town amongst all his enemies, tho' at the same time he could hardly propose to himself the satisfaction of dying fighting ; since before he could rise off the ground, he might be over-power'd and taken alive. However, as his good fortune would have it, he so pois'd his body that it light upon his feet, which gave him the advantage of engaging the enemy standing, and providence had put it in his power not to be surrounded. There was an old tree not far from the wall, whose branches being thick cloth'd with leaves, seem'd to extend themselves on purpose to protect the king ; he therefore planted himself against that tree, and with his buckler received the darts that were cast at him ; for notwithstanding

standing so many of them attack'd him alone at a distance, yet none dar'd to come to a close engagement with him, and there fell more darts amongst the branches than on his buckler.

In this extremity his mighty fame did him no small service ; then despair prompted him to exert all his bravery that he might die honourably ; but as fresh enemies continually flock'd about him, his buckler was already loaded with darts, and the stones had broke his helmet ; at last, tir'd with the continual labour, he fell upon his knees. Hereupon they who were nearest, suspecting no danger, ran heedlessly upon him, two of whom he presently kill'd with his sword, and laid them dead on the ground before him, after which no body had the courage to approach him, but they ply'd him afar off with their darts and arrows. Now as he was expos'd like a mark to all their aims, it was a hard task in that disadvantageous posture to protect his body, so that an Indian let fly an arrow two cubits long (for the Indians arrows, as we said before, were of this length) which pierc'd his armour a little above his right side. When he had receiv'd this wound, there issu'd out of it so great a quantity of blood, that he let fall his arms like one expiring, not having strength enough left to pull out the arrow. He therefore who had wounded him being transported with joy, ran in to strip his body ; but Alexander no sooner felt his hand touch him, than (as disdainig to bear this last indignity) he summon'd together his departing spirits, and plung'd his sword into his enemy's naked side.

Thus three of the enemies lay dead about the king, the rest keeping at a distance like men stupify'd. In the mean time, Alexander (who coveted to yield up his last breath fighting) endeavour'd to raise himself up with his buckler, but finding he had not strength enough left for that purpose, he took hold
of

of some of the impending boughs, and try'd to get up by their assistance, but not having strength sufficient to support his body, he fell down again upon his knees, threatening his enemies with his hand, and provoking any of them to a close fight. At last Peucestes having beat off the enemy in another part of the town, kept along the wall till he came where the king was, who look'd upon him rather as a comfort in his dying hour, than any way able to save his life; however, he rais'd himself with his help, upon his buckler; then came Timæus, and soon after Leonnatus, and after him Aristonus. When the Indians were inform'd, that the king was within their walls, they abandon'd the other places, and flock'd all thither where he was, and press'd hard upon those who defended him. Of these, Timæus (after a gallant behaviour, having receiv'd a great many wounds in the fore part of his body) was kill'd: as for Peucestes, notwithstanding he was pierc'd through with three darts, yet he continu'd to defend the king's person, unmindful of himself; and Leonnatus whilst he repell'd the Barbarians, who came upon them in great numbers, receiv'd a grievous blow on the neck, and fell down at the king's feet half dead. By this time Peucestes had lost so much blood, that he was no longer able to support his buckler: thus all the hope was now in Aristonus, but as he was also desperately wounded, what could be expected from him against so great a multitude? In the mean time, the rumour that the king was kill'd, reach'd the Macedonians. What would have terrify'd others, only serv'd to excite their courage the more; for now, without having the least regard to the danger, they broke down the wall with their pick-axes, and having enter'd the town, made a mighty slaughter of the Indians, who rather thought of saving themselves by flight, than of making any great resistance. They spar'd

spar'd neither the aged, the women, nor the children; for they look'd upon whomsoever they met, to be the person that had wounded their king, till at last by an universal slaughter of the enemy, they satisfy'd their anger. Clitarchus and Timagines relate, " That
 " Ptolemæus (who was afterwards king) was present
 " at this action : " But he himself (who most certainly would not deny what would have redounded so much to his glory) has left it in writing, " That he
 " was absent, being employed in another expedition." So great was the carelessness of those that transmitted to posterity those ancient histories, or their credulity, which is no less a fault ! The king being brought into his tent, the chirurgeons very dexterously cut off the woody part of the javelin that stuck in his body, without stirring the iron head of it; which upon laying his body naked, they found to be bearded, so that there was no other way to take it out safely, but by opening the wound. But here again they were afraid of too great a profusion of blood, for the javelin was large, and seem'd to penetrate into the noble parts. Critobulus, who of all the chirurgeons was the most experienc'd, was nevertheless timorous in so dangerous a case, and unwilling to be concern'd, lest his own life should be in danger if the cure did not answer expectation. The king perceiving him to weep, and discovering the anxious solicitude he was in, by the paleness of his countenance, ask'd him, " What he waited for, and why she delay'd freeing
 " him at least from the pain he was in, when it was
 " impossible to save his life ? Dost thou fear being
 " thought guilty, if thou dost not cure an incurable
 " wound ? " Hereupon Critobulus being freed from
 " his fear, or else dissembling it, begg'd of him,
 " That he would suffer himself to be held, till he
 " drew out the iron-head ; because the least motion
 " of his body during the operation, would be of
 " dan-

“ dangerous consequence.” But the king told him, “ He did not want to be held, neither need he fear his stirring ;” and accordingly kept his body as he was order’d, without the least motion. The wound therefore being laid open, and the head taken out, there succeeded so vast an effusion of blood, that the king fainted away, and lay extended like a dead man. All means were used to stanch the blood, but to no purpose, so that the king’s friends broke out into lamentations, believing him to be really dead. However, at last the bleeding was stopp’d, and by degrees he came to himself, and began to know those that were about him. All that day, and the night following, the army was under arms about his tent ; they all confess’d, that their lives depended on his single breath, neither could they be prevail’d upon to withdraw, till they were inform’d he was fallen into a sleep ; after which, they return’d to their camp with more certain hopes of his recovery.



C H A P. VI.

THE king having employ’d seven days in the care of his wound, tho’ it was not quite heal’d up, yet being inform’d, “ That it was generally reported among the Barbarians, that he was dead, “ he caus’d two ships to be fasten’d together, and “ his tent to be pitch’d in the midst thereof, that he “ might from thence shew himself to all those who “ believ’d him dead.” Thus being expos’d to the view of all the inhabitants, he lifted the hopes the enemy had entertain’d from the false rumour.

From hence he sail’d down the river, having first given orders to the rest of the fleet to follow him at a certain distance, lest the noise of the oars should hinder

der him from that rest that was necessary to his infirm body. On the fourth day after he embark'd, he arriv'd in a country abandon'd by its inhabitants, but very fruitful in corn, and abounding with cattle. This place seem'd proper both to confirm his own health, and rest his army. Now it was a custom among the Macedonians, for the most considerable of the king's friends, and those who had the guard of his person, to do duty before the royal tent when he was indispos'd, which practice being at this time observ'd, they all enter'd his apartment together. The king was not a little surprized at their general appearance, and began to be in pain lest some unforeseen accident had happen'd, and therefore enquir'd of them, "Whether there was any fresh account of the enemies approach?" Then Craterus, on whom they had pitch'd to speak in the behalf of them all, express'd himself in the following manner. "Can you imagine, Sir, we could be so alarm'd at the approach of an enemy, tho' they were already within our line, as we are really concern'd for your own safety, especially when we see yourself so little regard it? Were all the nations in the world to conspire against us; were they to cover the whole earth with men and arms, and the seas with fleets, we are satisfy'd we are invincible while you are at the head of us. But which of all the gods can ensure to us this main support and propitious star of the Macedonians, when you so eagerly expose your precious person to such manifest dangers, unmindful of the great number of citizens who intirely depend upon your fate? Who amongst us either desires to survive you, or can? We are advanced so far already, under your conduct and command, that it is impossible for any but yourself, to lead us home. Were you still contending with Darius for the empire of Persia, no body
" could

“ could wonder you expos’d yourself resolutely on
“ all occasions (tho’ at the same time it would be
“ against our wills) for where there is an equality be-
“ tween the danger and the reward, the fruit there-
“ of is greater upon success, as is also the consola-
“ tion upon a miscarriage. But that a sorry town
“ should be purchas’d at so dear a rate as your
“ life, no one of your own soldiers can bear the
“ thoughts of it; nay, none of the Barbarians can,
“ that has any knowledge of your greatness?
“ My soul is struck with horror, when I reflect
“ on what we all lately beheld. I cannot without
“ trembling, relate how near your invincible person
“ was being stripp’d by the hands of the vilest
“ wretches, if fortune had not been so favourable to
“ us, as by miracle almost to save you. We can be
“ counted no better than traytors and deserters all of
“ us, who could not follow you, neither will any of
“ us refuse to make any satisfaction for the crime we
“ could not help being guilty of. If we are not
“ worthy your high esteem, at least do us the favour
“ to shew your contempt another way. We are
“ ready to march wherever you please to command
“ us. Leave us those mean and inglorious actions,
“ and preserve yourself for those noble occasions
“ that are worthy your greatness. That glory that
“ results from fordid enemies, soon loses its lustre,
“ and there cannot be any thing more unworthy
“ your illustrious self, than to be prodigal of your
“ bravery, where it cannot appear in its full splen-
“ dor.” Ptolemy and the rest spoke much to the
“ same purpose, and all of them together intreated
“ him to set some bounds, at last, to that excess of
“ glory with which he was in a manner loaded: and
“ for the future to have a greater regard to his safety,
“ on which that of the public depended.” The
“ king was very well pleased with these testimonies of
“ their

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their zeal, and having embrac'd them every one singly, after a more familiar manner than usual, he bid them sit down; and being dispos'd to discourse with them at large, and without reserve, said, " My
" most faithful and most zealous citizens and friends,
" I return you my hearty thanks, not only that you
" at this time prefer my safety to your own, but
" also, that from the beginning of the war you have
" let slip no opportunity of testifying your dutiful and
" benevolent disposition towards me; so that I must
" confess, life was never dearer to me than it is at
" present, and that chiefly, that I may long enjoy
" you. At the same time I must let you know, that
" how willing soever you may be to lay down your
" lives for me (which inclination I have deserv'd,
" only by that bravery you now blame) your
" thoughts and mine are very different. For you
" covet to reap the fruits of my favour a long time,
" nay, perhaps for ever: whereas I measure myself
" not by the time I have liv'd, but by the glory I
" acquire. Had I been contented with my paternal
" inheritance, I might within the bounds of Mace-
" donia have spun out my life in obscurity and idle-
" ness, to an inglorious old age: though it must be
" own'd too, that even the slothful and lazy, are
" not masters of their own destiny; for while they
" place their supreme happiness in a long life, they
" are frequently cut off by some unexpected death.
" But as for myself, who do not reckon my years,
" but my victories, if I rightly compute the gifts
" of fortune, I have already liv'd a long time. For
" having begun my empire in Macedonia, I made
" myself master of Greece; I subdu'd the Thracians
" and Illyrians; I give laws to the Triballi and the
" Medes; I am in possession of Asia, from the Hel-
" lespont to the Red-Sea; and at present, am not
" far from the end of the world, which as soon as I
" have

“ have pass’d, I design to open myself a new one,
“ and if possible, discover another nature. I pass’d
“ from Europe to Asia, in so short a time as that of
“ an hour. Having conquer’d both countries in the
“ ninth year of my reign, and in the nine and twen-
“ tieth year of my age. Do you think I can make
“ any stop in my full career after glory, to which
“ alone I have entirely devoted myself? No, believe
“ me, I shall never be wanting to her on my part,
“ and wheresoever I shall fight, I shall imagine myself
“ to be on the theatre of the whole world. Those
“ places that have been hitherto obscure, shall be-
“ come famous thro’ my means: I’ll open a passage
“ to all nations, to those countries nature has plac’d
“ at the remotest distance. If while I am employ’d
“ in the execution of these great things, it be my
“ lot to be kill’d, what can be more for my reputa-
“ tion? I am descended from such a stock, that I
“ ought to covet rather to live much, than long.
“ Let me recommend to your reflection, that we are
“ come into those countries where the very women
“ are celebrated for their virtue. What cities Semi-
“ ramis has built! What nations did she subdue!
“ What mighty works did she accomplish! We
“ have not yet equall’d the glorious performances of
“ a woman, and shall we already be seiz’d with a
“ satiety of praise? No, no, let the gods but favour
“ us, and we have much greater things yet to do,
“ than we have done. But the ready way to conquer
“ all those countries we have not yet touch’d, is to
“ esteem nothing little, where there is a great deal
“ of glory to be got. Do you but defend me from
“ intestine mischief, and domestic conspiracies, and
“ I shall undauntedly face all the dangers of the war.
“ Philip was safer in the field than in the theatre; he
“ had often escap’d the hands of his profess’d ene-
“ mies, but could not at last secure himself from the
“ treachery

“ treachery of his subjects. And, if you examine
 “ into the death of other kings, you will find more
 “ kill’d by their own people, than by the enemy.
 “ Before I conclude this speech, I shall lay hold of
 “ the present opportunity to disclose to you a thing
 “ which I for a considerable time have had in my
 “ thoughts: know then that I shall look upon it as
 “ the greatest reward of all my labours, and chiefest
 “ fruit of my victories, if when my mother Olym-
 “ pias dies, she be plac’d among the goddesses. If I
 “ am living, I shall discharge that duty myself, but
 “ if I die before her, remember what I now commit
 “ to your care.” Having made this speech, he dis-
 miss’d the company, but remain’d several days in
 this camp.



C H A P. VII.

WHILE these things were doing in India, the
 Greek soldiers (whom the king had settled in
 and about Baetra) thro’ a sedition that happen’d among
 them, rebell’d, not so much out of ill-will to Alexander,
 as for fear of punishment; for having kill’d some of
 their companions, they who were the strongest had
 recourse to arms, and having made themselves masters
 of the citadel of Baetra, which was but negligently
 guarded, they drew the Barbarians also into their party.
 Athenodorus was their leader, who had also assum’d
 the title of king; not so much out of an ambition to
 reign, as out of a desire to return into his native coun-
 try with those who own’d his authority. But one
 Bicon of the same nation, envying his power, con-
 spir’d against him, and having invited him to an
 entertainment, caus’d him to be kill’d by Boxus a
 Macerian. The day following, Bicon in a genera
assem

assembly, persuaded the major part of it, that Athenodorus had entertain'd a design against his life, which oblig'd him to be beforehand with him. However, others suspected his treacherous designs, and by degrees this suspicion spread it self among the rest. The Greek soldiers therefore take to their arms, intending to kill Bicon if they had an opportunity : but the chief amongst them appeas'd the anger of the multitude. Thus Bicon being contrary to his expectation freed from the present danger, in a little time conspir'd against the authors of his safety : but the treachery taking vent, they seiz'd both him and Boxus. Boxus was put to death immediately, and Bicon was reserv'd to die upon the rack. Now it happen'd, that just as they were going to torment him, the Greek soldiers (without any known cause) ran to their arms like madmen ; so that they who had orders to torment him, hearing the sudden uproar, desisted from their office, imagining they were forbid to execute the same by this tumultuous outcry. Hereupon he ran naked as he was to the Greeks, who beholding him in this wretched condition, were touch'd with compassion for him, and order'd him to be set at liberty. Having thus twice escap'd dying, he return'd into his native country which the rest of those who left the colonies allotted them by the king. This is what happen'd about Bactra, and the borders of Scythia.

In the mean time, an hundred ambassadors came to the king from the two nations we before mention'd. They all rid in chariots, were very tall, and handsome personages, clad in linen garments embroider'd with gold, and a mixture of purple. They told him, " They deliver'd up to him themselves, their towns
" and territories : that he was the first they ever in-
" trust'd their liberty with, which they had for so
" many ages preserv'd inviolated. That the gods
G 3 " were

“ were the authors of their submission, and not fear ;
“ which might appear from hence, that they took
“ his yoke upon them, without making any tryal of
“ their strength.” Hereupon the king having deliberated with his counsel, took them into his protection, enjoining the same tribute they paid to the Arachosians ; besides which, he commanded them to supply him with two thousand five hundred horse, all which was punctually perform’d by the Barbarians.

After this, he gave orders for a great entertainment, to which he invited these ambassadors, and the little kings. Here were a hundred beds of gold set at a moderate distance from each other. These beds were encompass’d with rich tapestries glittering with gold and purple : in fine, at this banquet he display’d all the ancient luxury of the Persians, together with the new inventions of the corrupted Macedonians, intermixing the vices of both nations.

Amongst the rest that were at this feast, was Dioxippus the Athenian, a famous wrestler, who on the account of his prodigious strength, was well known to the king, and much in his favour. Some envious and malicious persons reproach’d Dioxippus betwixt jest and earnest, “ That he was a fat, over-grown,
“ useless monster ; and that while they were engag’d
“ in battles, he was only employ’d in anointing his
“ body with oil, and preparing himself for a fresh
“ meal.” Horratus a Macedonian was one of them that us’d these reviling expressions to him, and being drunk, “ Challeng’d him if he was a man of courage
“ to fight him with his sword the next day, and that
“ the king should be judge either of his temerity, or
“ Dioxippus’s cowardice.” This latter accepted the condition, and in a scornful manner play’d upon the other’s military fierceness. The king finding them the next day more eager for the tryal of skill than the day before, suffer’d them to fight, because he coul

not dissuade them from it. On this occasion there was a great concourse of the soldiers, and among the rest the Greeks who were well-wishers to Dioxippus. The Macedonian appear'd compleatly arm'd, holding in his left-hand his brazen buckler and long spear, and in his right hand a javelin, with his sword by his side, as if he had been to engage with several at the same time. As for Dioxippus, he shin'd with oil with which he was anointed, having a garland on his head, and a scarlet cloak wrapt about his left-arm, and in his right a strong knotty club. The different appearance rais'd a mighty expectation in the spectators, for it seem'd madness, and not temerity, for a naked man to engage with one compleatly arm'd. The Macedonian therefore no wise doubting but he could kill him at a distance, cast his javelin at him, which Dioxippus avoided by a small declination of his body, and before the other could shift his long spear into his right hand, leap'd into him, and broke it with his club: the Macedonian having lost both his other weapons, began now to draw his sword, but Dioxippus closing in with him, struck up his heels, and pitch'd his head against the ground, and having taken his sword from him, clapp'd his foot upon his neck, and was just going to dash his brains out with his club, if he had not been hinder'd by the king.

The event of this spectacle was neither grateful to the Macedonians nor Alexander himself; for he was afraid lest the so much boasted bravery of the Macedonians should thereby fall into contempt with the Barbarians that were present. This made him listen a little too much to the accusations of the envious. A few days after at a feast, they by agreement took away a golden cup: the officers pretending to miss it, came to the king and complain'd they had lost what they had only hid. There is often-times less assurance in the countenance of the innocent than of the guilty.

Dioxippus was not able to bear the cast of their eyes, which were directed at him as a thief; and therefore going away from the entertainment, he writ a letter to the king, and then kill'd himself. The king was concern'd at his death, looking upon it to proceed from indignation and not remorse; especially when it appear'd plain enough that he was falsely accus'd, by the excessive joy of his enemies.



C H A P. VIII.

THE Indian ambassadors being dismiss'd, went home, and in a few days return'd again with presents for Alexander, which consisted of three hundred horses, one thousand and thirty chariots, each drawn by four horses, some linen garments, a thousand Indian bucklers, and one hundred talents of tin, with tame lions and tigers of an extraordinary size, as also the skins of very large lizards, and tortoise-shells.

The king then commanded "Craterus to march
" the army at no great distance from the river on
" which he was to sail;" after which embarking with those who were us'd to accompany him, he came down the stream into the territory of the Malli: from whence he march'd towards the Sabracæ, who are a powerful nation, not govern'd by kingly authority, but that of the people. They had got together sixty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, which were follow'd by five hundred chariots. They had made choice of three generals of great experience in military matters, but when such of them as inhabited near the river (the bank whereof was full of villages)
per-

perceiv'd the whole river cover'd with ships as far they could see, and beheld the shining arms and armour of so many thousand men, they were amaz'd at the novelty of the sight, and believ'd that some army of the gods was come amongst them; or else another Bacchus, for that name was famous in these parts. The soldiers shouts, and the noise of the oars, together with the confus'd voices of the mariners encouraging one another, so fill'd their fearful ears, that they all ran to the army, crying out, " that they were
 " mad to offer to contend with the gods ; that it was
 " impossible to number the ships that carry'd these invincible persons." By which words they spread such a general fear throughout their whole army, that they immediately dispatch'd ambassadors to Alexander, to yield up their nation to him.

Having taken them into his protection, he came the fourth day into another country, the people whereof had no more courage than the former ; here he built a city, which he order'd to be call'd Alexandria, and then enter'd into the territory of the Musicani.

While he was here he heard the complaints of the Paropamisadæ against Terioltes, whom he had made their governour, and finding him convicted of several irregularities thro' his avarice and pride, he sentenc'd him to suffer death. At the same time Oxatres, who was Prætor of the Bactrians, was not only discharg'd of what was alledg'd against him, but had also the extent of his government enlarg'd. Having subdu'd the country of the Musicani, he put a garrison into their capital, and from thence advanc'd against the Præsti, who were also a people of India. Oxycanus was their king, and had, with a great body of men, retir'd into a strong city. However, Alexander took it the third day after he lay down before it. The town being taken, Oxycanus fled into the castle, and sent ambassadors to the king to treat about the terms
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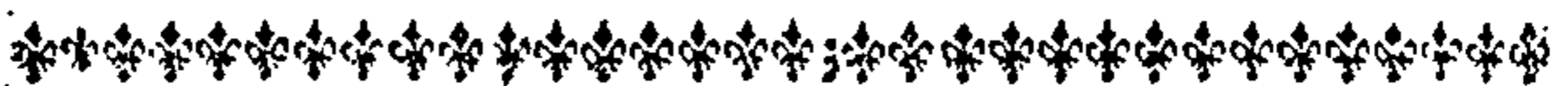
of his surrender ; but before they could reach the king, two of the towers were beat down, through the breach of which the Macedonians got into the castle, which being taken, Oxycanus, with a few more that made resistance, was kill'd.

Having demolish'd the castle, and sold all the captives, he march'd into the territories of king Sabus, where several towns submitted to him ; but he took the strongest city by a subterraneous passage which he had carry'd on within the place. The Barbarians, who were unskill'd in military affairs, were amaz'd to see men rise out of the ground in the middle of their town, without being able to trace the way they came. Clitarchus says, there were fourscore thousand Indians slain in this country, and a great number of captives sold as slaves. The Musicanî in the mean time rebell'd, and Pithon was sent to suppress them, who accordingly did so, and brought the prince of the nation (who was also the author of the revolt) prisoner to the king, who order'd him to be crucify'd, and then return'd to the river where his fleet waited for him. The fourth day after he came down the river to a town which leads into the dominions of king Sabus. He had lately submitted to Alexander, but the inhabitants refus'd to obey him, and shut the gates against him ; however, the king despising their small number, commanded “ five hundred Agrians to approach the walls of the place, and retiring by little and little to draw the enemy out of the town, who he concluded would not fail to pursue them if they once were persuaded that they fled.” The Agrians, according to the orders they had receiv'd, having provok'd the enemy, took to their heels, and were pursu'd so closely by the Indians, that these last fell into a fresh body where the king was in person. Then the fight was renew'd, and out of three thousand Barbarians five hundred were kill'd,
a thou-

a thousand taken prisoners, and the rest got back again to the town; but the issue of this victory was not so favourable as at first was expected; for the Barbarians had poison'd their swords, so that those who were wounded died suddenly, the physicians not being able to find out the cause of so present a death, the slightest wounds being incurable. The Indians were in hopes that the king, who was rash, and regardless of his own safety, might have been involv'd in that danger, but notwithstanding he fought amongst the foremost, yet he escap'd unwounded.

Ptolemy indeed gave him great uneasiness on the account of a wound he had received in the left shoulder, which, tho' light in itself, was by reason of the poison of dangerous consequence. He was related to the king, and some believ'd Philip was his father; it is certain he was born of one of his mistresses. He was one of the king's body-guards, and a very brave soldier; however, he was still more excellent in the arts of peace, was moderate in his apparel, very liberal, and easy of access, having nothing of that haughtiness that seems natural to those who are descended from royal blood: These qualities made it doubtful whether he was more lov'd by the king, or those of his nation. It was on this occasion that the Macedonians first express'd their general affection for him, which seem'd to presage the future grandeur to which afterwards he rais'd himself; for they had no less care of his health than of the king's, who being fatigu'd with the battle, and full of solicitude for Ptolemy, by whom he satc, order'd his bed to be brought where he was, into which he was no sooner got, than he fell into a profound sleep. As soon as he wak'd, he told those who were present, " That while he
 " was at rest, he dream'd a dragon brought an herb
 " to him in its mouth, as a proper remedy against
 " the poison;" he describ'd the colour of the herb,
 G 6 and

and assur'd them, " he should know it again if any " of them should chance to find it." As a great many were employ'd to seek it, some of them found it; and having brought it to him, he apply'd it himself to the wound, the pain whereof ceas'd immediately, and in a short time the wound was perfectly heal'd. The Barbarians finding themselves disappointed of their first hopes, surrender'd both themselves and city. From hence Alexander march'd into the next province call'd Parthalia. Mæris was king of it, who, having abandon'd the town, was fled into the mountains; Alexander therefore took possession of the place, and plunder'd the country, carrying off a great booty of sheep and cattle, besides a great quantity of corn. After this he made choice of guides who knew the river, and sail'd down it to an island that stood almost in the middle of the channel.



C H A P. IX.

HERE he was oblig'd to make a longer stay than he at first propos'd, because the guides being carelessly look'd after, were fled; he therefore sent to seek after others, but none being to be found, the strong desire he had to see the ocean, and to reach the utmost bounds of the world, made him commit his own life, and the safety of so many gallant men, to an unknown river, without guides. Thus they sail'd altogether ignorant of the places they pass'd by; how far the sea was distant from them; what people inhabited the coasts; the nature of the mouth of the river; or, whether it were proper for their long ships; for all which they had only their own blind
and

and uncertain conjecture. The only comfort in this his temerity, was his constant felicity. Having proceeded after this manner for the space of four hundred furlongs, the pilots acquainted him, “ That “ they began to be sensible of the air of the sea, and “ that they did not believe the ocean could be far off.” He was overjoy’d at this news, and encouraged the mariners “ to ply their oars,” assuring the soldiers, “ They were near attaining what they all had so “ long wish’d for, viz. an end to their labours ; that “ now their glory would be perfect, nothing being “ left to withstand their bravery ; that without any “ farther danger or bloodshed, the whole world “ would be their own ; that their exploits would “ equal the utmost extent of nature ; and that they “ would behold in a little time what was only known “ to the immortal gods.” However, he set a small detachment ashore, in order to take some of the straggling natives, hoping to get from them a thorough information of all things. After a long search they found some who lay lurking in their huts. These being ask’d, “ How far the sea was off ? ” made answer, “ That they never had heard of any such “ thing as the sea, but in three days time they would “ come to a brackish water which corrupted the “ fresh.” It was plain, that by this description they meant the sea, whose nature they did not understand ; hereupon the mariners with fresh alacrity ply their oars, and every day the nearer they grew to their hopes, the greater was their vigour.

On the third day they perceiv’d that the sea began to mingle its water with that of the river, and by a gentle tide confound their different streams ; here they discover’d another island, situate in the very middle of the river, to which they could approach but slowly, because the course of the tide ran against them : Being landed, they ran about to lay in provisions,

sions, not dreaming of the misfortune that was ready to fall upon them. About three of the clock the tide, according to its ordinary course, began to pour in strongly, and force back the current of the river. At first it seem'd in a manner but to struggle with it, but running still higher and higher, it drove it back with such impetuosity, that its retrograde course exceeded the rapidity of the swiftest torrents. The generality of them were intirely ignorant of the nature of the sea, so that they look'd upon it to be ominous, and a certain indication of the anger of the gods ; but, to their greater terror, the sea, by its repeated workings swell'd so high, as to overflow the neighbouring plains, which before were dry, and as the flux increas'd, the ships were rais'd higher, till at last the fleet was dispers'd. They who had been set ashore, surpriz'd at the suddenness of the accident, repair'd to their ships with the greatest precipitation ; but in all tumultuary assemblies, haste is of pernicious consequence. Some endeavour'd to get on board, by the means of long hook'd poles ; others, while they place themselves, interrupt the rowers ; some again try to make the best of their way, but not waiting the arrival of those who were absolutely necessary for their purpose, found it a difficult matter to navigate those heavy and unwieldy ships ; at the same time other boats were not able to contain the multitude of those that inconsiderately flock'd into them ;, so that the crowd in this case, was as detrimental as the want of hands in the other. Some cry'd out to stay, others to make off ; which confusion of orders, not tending to the same purpose, not only took away the use of their eyes, but also of their ears. The pilots at this juncture were likewise useless, their directions not being heard in so great a tumult, nor obey'd, by reason of the fright. The ships now begin to fall foul upon one another, and the oars are broke : In fine,
the

the disorder was so great, that no body could have imagin'd it to be the fleet of the same army, but a sea engagement between two fleets that were enemies. The stems of some ships were forc'd against the sterns of others, and the damage that was done to those that were foremost, was again receiv'd from those that came after ; at last from high words they came to blows. By this time the inundation had spread itself over all the fields in the neighbourhood of the river, the hills only appearing above the water, and carrying the resemblance of so many small islands, whither several betook themselves by swimming, out of fear abandoning their ships.

While the fleet was scatter'd here and there, some ships riding in deep water where the valleys sunk low, others being stranded on the shoals, according to the inequality of the surface of the ground the water possess'd, they were suddenly surpriz'd with another terror greater than the first ; for when the sea began to ebb, it carry'd back the waters from whence they came, and restor'd the land they had cover'd but a little before. The ships being thus left upon the dry land, pitch'd some upon their stems, while others fell upon their sides. The fields were covered with baggage, arms, broken planks and oars. The soldiers were so terrify'd, that they neither dar'd trust themselves on the land, nor remain on board, expecting in a little time greater evils than those they had already experienc'd. They could hardly believe what they saw and suffer'd ; viz. a shipwreck upon the land, and the sea in a river. But their trouble did not end here, for as they were ignorant that the tide would in a little time return, and set their ships a-float again, they expected nothing but famine and the utmost calamities. Besides, they were seiz'd with horror at the sight of so many monstrous creatures the
sea

sea had left behind it. The night now began to draw on, and the desperate circumstances fill'd the king himself with concern ; but no care could get the better of his invincible courage : He remain'd all the night upon the watch, giving his orders, and sent some horsemen to the mouth of the river, to bring him word when the tide began to return. In the mean time, he caus'd the shatter'd ships to be refitted, and those that were overturn'd, to be set right again : ordering his people to be ready against the next return of the tide. This whole night being spent in watching and encouraging his men, the horsemen came back upon full speed, and the tide at their heels ; at first it came in gently upon them, till encreasing by degrees it rais'd the ships ; then overflowing all the fields as before, it set the whole fleet in motion.

Hereupon the banks of the river and coasts rang with the shouts of the sailors and soldiers, who were transported with joy at their unexpected safety. They now with wonder enquir'd of one another, “ from
“ whence this vast sea could return so suddenly ?
“ Whither it could retire the day before ? What
“ could be the nature of this element, that was some-
“ times so rebellious, and at others so subject to the
“ empire of time ? ” The king conjectured by what had happen'd, that the tide would return after the sun's rising ; he therefore to prevent it set out at midnight, and sail'd down the river, attended by a few ships, and having pass'd thro' the mouth of it, advanc'd four hundred furlongs into the sea, obtaining at last what he had so long wish'd for ; then having sacrific'd to the tutelar gods of the sea, and adjacent places, he return'd back to his fleet.



C H A P. X.

THEN he sail'd up the river, and came to an anchor the day following, not far from a salt lake, the nature whereof being unknown to his men, deceiv'd a great many, who rashly ventur'd to bathe themselves therein : For their bodies broke out into scabs, which being contagious, communicated the distemper to their companions ; but oil prov'd a present remedy for this evil. He afterwards sent Leonatus before to dig wells in the country thro' which he was to pass with his army (for it was naturally dry and destitute of water) ; and he remain'd with his forces where he was, expecting the return of the spring. In the mean time, he built several cities, and commanded “ Nearchus and one Onesicritus, “ very skilful seamen, to sail with the strongest ships “ into the ocean, and to advance as far as they could “ with safety, in order to inform themselves of the “ nature of the sea ; which having done, they might “ return to him either by the same river, or by the “ Euphrates.”

The winter being now pretty well over, he burn'd those ships which were useless to him, and march'd his army by land. In nine encampments he came into the country of the Arabitæ, and from thence in nine days more, into that of the Gedrosii. These were a free people ; however, having held a council upon the matter, they submitted to him, and he laid no other injunctions upon them, but to supply his army with provisions.

From

From hence in five days he came to a river call'd by the inhabitants Arabus, beyond which there lies a barren country very destitute of water ; which having march'd through, he arriv'd at the territories of the Horitæ. Here he gave Hephæstion the greatest part of the army, and divided the remaining part, which consisted of the light-arm'd troops, between Ptolemy, Leonatus, and himself. In this manner, they ravag'd India in three distinct bodies, and carry'd off a great booty. Ptolemy wasted the maritime country ; the king destroy'd the midland part, and Leonatus the rest. He also built a city here, and peopled it with Arachosians.

From hence he came to those Indians who inhabit the maritime parts : They are possess'd of a large extent of country, but it is very barren and desolate, so that they hold no manner of commerce with their neighbours. Their solitude adds very much to their otherwise savage nature : They never pare their nails, nor cut their hair. They adorn their cottages with the shells and other refuse of the sea. Their clothes are made of the skins of wild beasts, and they feed upon fishes dry'd in the sun, and other monsters that the sea casts upon the shore.

The Macedonians having consum'd all their provisions, first endur'd a scarcity, and afterwards extremity of hunger, so that they were forc'd to have recourse to the roots of the palm-tree, which they every where sought for, it being the only tree the country produces. But this food failing them too, they began to kill their beasts of burthen, not sparing even their horses. Thus wanting wherewith to carry their baggage, they burnt those rich spoils for which they had marched to the utmost extremity of the east. The plague succeeded the famine, for the new juices of their unwholesome food, together with the fatigue
of

of their marches, and their grief and anxiety of mind, had caus'd several distempers amongst them ; so that they could neither stop nor go forwards without certain mischief. If they stop'd any where, they were sure to perish with hunger, and if they advanc'd they fell in with those who were grievously afflicted with the plague. The fields therefore were cover'd over with more bodies that were still languishing and half alive, than that were really dead. They who were the least tainted, were not able to keep up with the main army, it march'd with so much expedition, every one imagining that the farther he advanc'd, the better he secur'd his health. In this wretched condition, those whose strength fail'd them, begg'd the assistance of strangers as well as that of their acquaintance, to help them up. But besides that there were no carriage-beasts to bring them along, the soldiers had enough to do to carry their arms, and the frightful appearance of the impending evil was continually before their eyes. This made them not so much as look at those who call'd to them, their pity being stifled by their fear. On the other side, they who found themselves thus forsaken, attested the gods, and represented their communion in the same sacred rites, and implor'd the king's help ; but finding they apply'd themselves in vain to deaf ears, their despair turn'd into rage, so that they fell to imprecations, wishing them the same end and such friends and companions in their need.

The king hereupon was no less asham'd than griev'd, because he knew himself to be the author of so great a calamity ; he therefore sent orders to Phrathaphernes governor of the Parthians, “ to send him “ provisions ready dress'd, upon camels : ” He also notify'd his distress to the governors of the neighbouring

bouring provinces, who were not backward in their supplies.

By these means the army was at least freed from famine, and came at last upon the frontiers of the Gedrosians, whose territory was very fruitful, and afforded plenty of all things. Here he stay'd some time to refresh his harrassed troops ; in the interim he receiv'd letters from Leonatus, importing, " That he had fought and overcome eight thousand foot, " and five hundred horse of the Horitæ." Craterus likewise sent him advice, " That he had seiz'd and " put into custody Ozines and Zariaspes, two noble- " men of Persia, who were contriving a rebellion." The king afterwards appointed Siburtius governor of that province, in the room of Memnon, who was lately dead, and then march'd into Carmania. Aspastes had the government of this nation, and was suspected to aim at innovations during the king's abode in India ; but as he came to meet the king, his majesty thought fit to dissemble his resentment, and kept him in the same station till he could get a clearer information of the crimes he was accus'd of.

The governor of India having sent him by this time (according to his orders) a great number of horses, and draught cattle out of the respective countries subject to his empire, he remounted, and gave fresh equipages to those who wanted. He also restor'd their arms to their former splendor, for they were not now far from Persia, which was not only in a profound peace, but vastly rich.

As therefore he not only rival'd the glory Bacchus had gain'd by the conquest of these countries, but also his fame, he resolv'd (his mind being elevated above mortal grandeur) to imitate him in his manner of triumph, tho' it be uncertain whether it was at first intended by Bacchus as a triumph, or only the
spot



BACCHANTIVM CHORVS.



DIONYSIACA SALTATIO.

sport and pastime of the drunken crew. Hereupon he caus'd "all the streets thro' which he was to pass to be strew'd with flowers and garlands, and large vessels and cups fill'd with wine to be plac'd before the doors of the houses." Then he order'd waggons to be made of a sufficient largeness to contain a great many, which were adorn'd like tents, some with white coverings, and some with precious furniture."

The king's friends and the royal band went first, wearing on their heads chaplets made of variety of flowers; in some places the flutes and hautboys were heard, in others the harmonious sound of the harp and lute: All the army follow'd eating and drinking after a dissolute manner, every one setting off his waggon according to his ability, their arms (which were extraordinary fine) hanging round about the same. The king, with the companions of his debauchery, was carried in a magnificent chariot laden with gold cups, and other large vessels of the same metal. After this manner did this army of Bacchanals march for seven days together, a noble as well as certain prey to those they had conquer'd, if they had had but courage enough to fall upon them in this drunken condition; nay, it had been an easy matter for a thousand men (provided they were but sober) to have made themselves masters of this riotous army, in the midst of its triumph, as it lay plung'd in the surfeits and excesses of a seven days debauch; but fortune that sets the price and credit of things, turn'd this military scandal into glory. The then present age and posterity since have with reason admir'd, "How they could in that drunken condition, with safety pass thro' nations hardly yet sufficiently subdued; but the Barbarians interpreted the rankest temerity imaginable for a well-grounded assurance."

“ rance.” However, all this pomp and splendor had the executioner at its heels, for the satrap Aspastes, of whom we before made mention, was order’d to be put to death. Thus we see that luxury is no obstacle to cruelty, nor cruelty to luxury.



QUINTUS



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K X.

C H A P. I.

ABOUT this time Cleander and Sitalces, with Agathon and Heracon (who had kill'd Parmenio by the king's orders) came to him, having with them five thousand foot and one thousand horse; but they were follow'd by their accusers out of the respective provinces of which they had had the prefecture; and indeed it was impossible for them to atone for so many enormous crimes which they had committed, tho' they had been instruments in an execution altogether grateful to the king; for they were not contented to pillage the publick, but even plunder'd the temples, and left the virgins and chief matrons to bewail the violation of their honour. In fine, by their avarice and lust, they had render'd the very name of the Macedonians odious to the Barbarians; but Cleander's fury exceeded all the rest, for he was not contented to de-
file

file a noble virgin, but gave her afterwards to his slave for a concubine.

The major part of Alexander's friends did not so much regard the grievousness of the crimes that were now publickly laid to their charge, as the memory of Parmenio, who had been kill'd by their hands, which perhaps might secretly plead for them in the king's breast; and they were overjoy'd to see those ministers of his anger, experience the dire effects of it themselves; and "that no power that is injuriously
"acquir'd can be of long duration."

The king having heard their accusation, said,
"That their adversaries had forgot one thing, and
"the greatest of all their crimes, which was their
"despairing of his safety; for they would never have
"dar'd to be guilty of such villanies, if they had
"either hop'd or believ'd he should have return'd
"safe from India." He therefore committed them to custody, and order'd "fix hundred soldiers who
"had been the instruments of their cruelty to be put
"to death." The same day also the authors of the Persian revolt (whom Craterus had brought along with him) were executed.

Not long after, Nearchus and Onesicritus (whom he had "sent to make discoveries on the ocean)" return'd, and reported to him several things they had found out themselves, as well as others which they had only by hearsay; "That the island that was in
"the mouth of the river abounded with gold, but
"was destitute of horses; that therefore every horse
"that the inhabitants of the continent dar'd to transport thither, was sold there for a talent; that that
"sea was full of whales which follow'd the course
"of the tide, and in bigness equall'd the bulk of
"large ships; that they were frighten'd at the horrible noise made on purpose from on board the
"fleet, notwithstanding which they follow'd the
"same,

“ same, and caus’d a mighty roaring of the sea,
“ when they plung’d their huge bodies under water,
“ resembling so many sinking vessels.”

The rest they receiv’d from the relation of the inhabitants, and particularly, “ That the red sea had
“ its denomination from king * Erythras, and not
“ from the colour of its waters, which was the receiv’d opinion. That not far from the continent
“ there was an island thick set with palm trees, and
“ in the midst of the grove there was a pillar erected
“ to the memory of king Erythras, with an inscription in the characters us’d by that people.” They added moreover, “ That of all the merchants ships
“ which had sail’d thither for the sake of the gold,
“ not any were ever seen after.” The king, desirous to be farther inform’d, sent them out again with orders “ to steer along the coast till they came to the
“ Euphrates, and then to sail up that river to Babylon.”

Now he having conceiv’d vast designs, had resolv’d after he had conquer’d all the eastern maritime coast, to pass out of Syria into Africa, being very much incens’d against the Carthaginians, and from thence marching thro’ the desarts of Numidia, to direct his course towards Cadiz ; for it was generally reported, that Hercules had there planted his pillars. From hence he propos’d to march through Spain, which the Greeks call Iberia, from the river Iberus ; and having pass’d the Alps to come to the coast of Italy, from whence it was but a short cut to Epirus : He therefore gave orders to his governors in Mesopotamia “ to cut down timber in mount Libanus, and
“ convey it to Thapsacus, a town in Syria, where it
“ was to be employed to build large vessels, which
“ were afterwards to be conducted to Babylon.

* Erythrus in Greek signifies Red.

“ The kings of Cyprus were also commanded to
“ supply them with copper, hemp and sails.”

While he was doing these things he receiv'd letters from the kings Porus and Taxiles, to acquaint “ him
“ with the death of Abisares by sickness, and that
“ Philip his lieutenant was dead of his wounds ; as
“ also that the persons concern'd in that action had
“ been punished.” Hereupon he substituted Eudemon (who was commander of the Thracians) in the room of Philip, and gave Abisares's kingdom to his son. From thence he came to Persagadae, which is a city of Persia, and whose satrap's name was Orsines, who in nobility and riches far exceeded all the Barbarians ; he deriv'd his pedigree from Cyrus, formerly king of Persia ; his predecessors had left him a great deal of wealth, which he had very much encreas'd by the long enjoyment of his authority. This nobleman came to meet the king, with all sorts of presents, as well for himself as for his friends ; he had with him whole studs of horses ready broke, chariots adorn'd with gold and silver, rich furniture, jewels, gold plate to a great value, purple garments, and four thousand talents of coin'd silver. However, this excessive liberality prov'd the cause of his death ; for having presented all the king's friends with gifts far beyond their expectation, he took no notice of Bagoas the Eunuch, who had endear'd Alexander to him by his abominable compliance ; and being inform'd by some who wish'd him well, “ That he was very much in
“ Alexander's favour ;” he made answer, “ That
“ he honour'd the king's friends, but not his eunuchs,
“ it not being the custom of the Persians.” The eunuch was no sooner acquainted with this answer than he employed all the power and interest he had so shamefully procur'd himself, to ruin this innocent nobleman. He first suborn'd some mean wretches of the same nation to accuse him of false crimes, with their
instructions

instructions, not to appear against him till they had receiv'd his farther orders. In the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he fill'd his credulous ears with odious relations, dissembling the cause of his displeasure, that the greater credit might be given to his accusations. However, the king did not immediately suspect Orsines, yet he began to be in less esteem with him than before.

The plot was carry'd on so privately against him, that he was wholly ignorant of the latent danger, and this importunate favourite was not unmindful of his malicious design, even in his most familiar conversation with the king; so that whenever he had inflam'd his unnatural love, he would be sure to charge Orsines sometimes with avarice, and sometimes with rebellious practices. In fine, every thing was ripe for the destruction of the innocent; and destiny, whose appointments are irreversibile, was now approaching.

It happen'd that Alexander caus'd Cyrus's tomb to be open'd, in order to pay his ashes the funeral rites; and whereas he believ'd it to be full of gold and silver, according to the general opinion of the Persians, there was nothing found in it but a rotten buckler, two Scythian bows and a Scimeter. However, the king plac'd a crown of gold upon his coffin, and cover'd it with the cloke he us'd to wear himself, and seem'd to wonder, " That so great
" a prince, who abounded in riches, was not more
" sumptuously interr'd than if he had been a private
" person." Hereupon Bagoas, who stood next to the king, turning to him said, " What wonder is it
" to find the royal tombs empty, when the satrap's
" houses are not able to contain the treasures they
" have taken from thence? As for my own part, I
" must confess, I never saw this tomb before, but I
" remember

“ remember to have heard Darius say, that there
“ were three thousand talents bury'd with Cyrus.
“ From hence proceeds Orsines's liberality to you,
“ that what he knew he could not keep with impu-
“ nity might procure him your favour, when he pre-
“ sented you with it.”

Having thus stirr'd up the king's anger, those whom Bagoas had intrusted with the same affair came in, so that he on one side, and the suborn'd witnesses on the other so possess'd the king's ears, that Orsines found himself in chains before he had the least suspicion of his being accus'd. This vile eunuch was not satisfied with the death of this innocent prince, but had the impudence to strike him as he was going to be executed; whereupon Orsines looking at him said, “ I had heard indeed, that formerly women
“ reign'd in Asia, but it is altogether new, that an
“ eunuch should be a king.” This was the end of the chiefest nobleman of Persia, who was not only innocent, but had likewise been profusely liberal to the king. At the same time Phradates was put to death, being suspected to aim at the regal dignity; it is certain he began now to be too sudden in his executions, and too apt to give credit to false informations; from whence it is plain, “ That prosperity is able to
“ change the best nature, it being a rarity to find
“ any one sufficiently cautious against good fortune.” Thus he who a little before could not find in his heart to condemn Lyncestes Alexander, though accus'd by two witnesses; and had suffer'd several prisoners of a mean condition to be acquitted, even contrary to his own inclination, only because they seem'd innocent to the rest, and had restor'd kingdoms to his conquer'd enemies, at last so degenerated from himself, as even against his own sentiment to bestow kingdoms on some at the pleasure of

an infamous catamite, and deprive others of their lives.

Much about the same time he receiv'd letters from Canus concerning the transactions in Europe and Asia, whilst he was subduing India, viz. that Zopirio his governor of Thrace, in his expedition against the Getae, had been surpriz'd with a sudden storm, and perish'd therein with the whole army; and that Scythæ being inform'd thereof had solicited the Odrysiæ his countrymen to revolt, whereby Thrace was almost lost, and Greece it self in danger; * for Alexander having punish'd the insolence of some of the satraps (who during his wars in India, had exercis'd all manner of crimes in their respective provinces) had thereby terrify'd others, who being guilty of the same foul practices, expected to be rewarded after the same manner, and therefore took refuge with the mercenary troops, designing to make use of their hands in their defence, if they were call'd to execution; others getting together what money they could, fled. The king being advis'd hereof, dispatch'd letters to all the governors throughout Asia, whereby they were commanded upon sight to disband all the foreign troops within their respective jurisdictions. Harpalus was one of these offenders; Alexander had a great confidence in him, because he had upon his account formerly been banish'd by Philip, and therefore when Mazæus dy'd, he conferr'd upon him the satrapship of Babylon, and the guard of the treasures. This man having, by the extravagance of his crimes, lost all the confidence he had in the king's favour, took five thousand talents out of the treasury, and having hir'd six thousand mercenaries, return'd into Europe.

* Supplement of Freinshemius.

He had for a considerable time follow'd the bent of his lust and luxury, so that despairing of the king's mercy, he began to look about for foreign means to secure himself against his anger ; and as he had all along cultivated the friendship of the Athenians, whose power was no way contemptible, and whose authority he knew was very great with the other Greeks, as well as their private hatred to the Macedonians ; he flatter'd those of his party, that as soon as the Athenians should be inform'd of his arrival, and behold the troops and treasure he brought with him, they would immediately join their arms and counsels to his : for he thought that by the means of wicked instruments whose avarice set every thing to sale, he might by presents and bribes compass his ends with an ignorant and wavering people.



C H A P. II.

THEY therefore put to sea with thirty ships, and came to Suinum, which is a cape in Attica, from whence they intended to go to the haven of the city.

The king being inform'd of these things, was equally incens'd against Harpalus and the Athenians, and immediately order'd a fleet to be got ready, resolving to repair immediately to Athens ; but while he was taken up with these thoughts he receiv'd letters of advice, “ That Harpalus had indeed enter'd Athens, “ and by large sums gain'd the chief citizens ; notwithstanding which, in an assembly of the people,

* Curtius.

“ he

“ he had been commanded to leave the town, where-
“ upon he retir’d to the Greek foldiers, who seiz’d
“ him, and that he was afterwards treacheroufly kill’d
“ by a certain traveller.” Being pleas’d with this
account, he laid aside his thoughts of paſſing into Eu-
rope ; however, “ he order’d all the cities of Greece
“ to receive their reſpective exiles, excepting ſuch
“ who had defil’d their hands with the blood of their
“ fellow citizens.

The Greeks not daring to diſobey his commands,
(altho’ they look’d upon them as a beginning of the
ſubverſion of their laws) not only recall’d them, but
alſo reſtor’d to them all their effects that were in be-
ing. The Athenians were the only people who on
this occaſion aſſerted both their own and the publick
liberty ; for looking upon it as an inſupportable
grievance, (as not being us’d to monarchical govern-
ment, but to their own laws and cuſtoms of their
country) they forbid them entering into their territo-
ries, being reſolv’d to ſuffer any thing rather than
grant admittance to thoſe former dregs of their own
town, and now the reſuſe of the places of their exile.

Alexander having diſcharg’d and ſent home the
oldeſt of his ſoldiers, order’d “ thirteen thouſand
“ foot, and two thouſand horſe, to be pick’d out to
“ remain with him in Aſia ;” judging that he could
now keep Aſia in ſubjection with a ſmall army, by
reaſon he had good garrifons in ſeveral places, beſides
the new towns he had built and peopled with colonies,
all which he conceiv’d would be a ſufficient bridle up-
on thoſe who might be diſpos’d to innovations. But
before he made choice of thoſe he deſign’d to keep
with him, he iſſu’d out a proclamation, requiring
“ all the ſoldiers to give in an account of what they
“ ow’d,” for he was ſenſible that ſeveral of them
were very much in debt ; and notwithſtanding he

knew their luxury had been the cause of it, yet he was resolv'd to free them.

They thinking it was only an artifice to distinguish the profuse from the good husbands, were slow in bringing in their accounts; whereupon the king, knowing very well that it was their modesty, and not their contumacy, that was the obstacle, order'd "counting tables to be dispos'd thoroughout the camp, and "ten thousand talents to be deliver'd out." Being by this convinc'd he was in earnest, they declar'd the debts, which were so great, that of so vast a sum there was but one hundred and thirty talents left; from whence it is plain, that this victorious army that had conquer'd so many rich nations, had brought more honour than booty out of Asia.

However, it was no sooner known that some of them were to be sent home, and others retain'd, than they presently concluded, he intended to fix the seat of his empire in Asia. Whereupon they broke out in such a fury, that laying aside all military discipline, they fill'd the camp with seditious clamours, and addressing themselves to the king, after a more insolent manner than ever, they unanimously requir'd a general discharge, shewing at the same time their disfigur'd faces, and their grey hairs. Neither the officers correction, nor their wonted respect for their king, had at present any influence upon them, but with their tumultuous cries and military license, they interrupted him when he offer'd to speak to them, declaring publickly, that they would not move a step from the place where they were, but towards their own homes. At last, silence being made (more because they thought they had work'd upon the king, than that they were in the least mov'd themselves) they were desirous to know what he intended to do, when he deliver'd himself in the following terms,
"What is the meaning of this sudden tumult? whence
"pro-

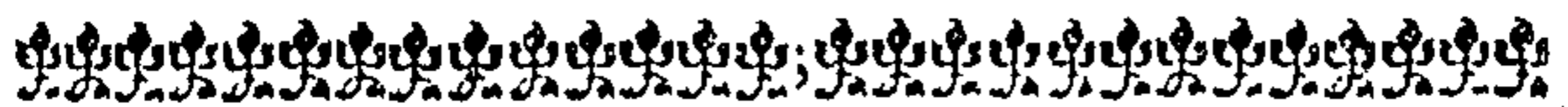
“ proceeds this insolent and licentious behaviour? I
“ am afraid to speak; you have bare-facedly infring’d
“ my authority, and I am now but a precarious king,
“ to whom you have not left the privilege of speak-
“ ing to you, of taking cognizance of your grievan-
“ ces, or admonishing you when you are in the
“ wrong; nay, I must not so much as look at you.
“ And what is wonderful! now that I have deter-
“ min’d to send some of you home, and in a little
“ time to follow my self with the rest, I perceive
“ those who are to go forthwith in the same uproar,
“ as they who are to stay till I return in person.
“ What can be the meaning of this? I should be
“ glad to know which of the two are dissatisfied, they
“ whom I dismiss, or those I retain.” One would
have thought the whole assembly had now had but
one voice, they so unanimously reply’d, that their
complaint was general. “ It is impossible for me
“ (said the king) to believe, that this universal com-
“ plaint should proceed from the cause you pretend, in
“ which the major part of you are not concern’d, since I
“ dismiss more than I shall retain: the evil must lie
“ deeper, that thus at once alienates you all from
“ me. For when was it ever known, that a whole
“ army unanimously agreed to abandon their king?
“ The very slaves themselves are never so generally
“ corrupted, as to run from their masters all at
“ once: some of them will still be ashamed to
“ forsake those they see abandon’d by the rest.
“ But why do I (as if I had forgot the fury that now
“ rages amongst you) strive to administer remedies to
“ the incurable? I see ’tis in vain to harbour any
“ hopes of you, and I am resolved to use you not as
“ my soldiers (for you are no longer such) but as the
“ most ungrateful of all mankind. The abundance
“ of your success intoxicates you, and makes you for-
“ get that condition of life which my indulgence has

“ deliver’d you from, and in which you deserve to
“ have grown grey ; for I find you can govern your
“ selves better in adversity than in prosperity. They
“ who not long since were tributaries to the Illyri-
“ ans and Persians, are now grown so haughty as to
“ disdain Asia, and the spoils of so many nations ;
“ and they who under Philip were half naked, at
“ present think it hard to wear purple garments ; their
“ eyes can’t bear the sight of gold and silver, they
“ want their wooden vessels again, their bucklers of
“ ozier and their rusty weapons ; for, to speak the
“ truth, this is the fine condition I receiv’d you in,
“ besides a debt of five hundred talents, when all the
“ royal furniture did not amount to above threescore.
“ This was the foundation I had for all my great at-
“ achievements, on which nevertheless, I have (with-
“ out vanity be it spoken) rais’d an empire of the
“ greatest part of the world. Is it possible you should
“ be grown weary of Asia, where the glory you have
“ acquir’d, renders you almost equal to the gods ?
“ You are in mighty haste to repair to Europe, and
“ forsake your king, when at the same time a great
“ many of you would have wanted necessaries on the
“ way, had I not discharg’d your debts, and that too
“ with the booty of Asia. Are you not ashamed to
“ have prodigally spent upon your bellies, the spoils
“ of so many conquer’d nations, and now return de-
“ stitute to your wives and children, to whom very
“ few of you can shew any fruits of your victories ;
“ the major part having even pawn’d their arms,
“ and thereby obstructed their own hopes. I shall
“ sustain a great loss indeed in such soldiers, who
“ have nothing left out of such vast riches, but what
“ they employ daily in their excesses and debauches.
“ Let the fugitives therefore have a free passage ;
“ be gone from hence with all speed, while I and
“ the Persians guard your rear. What stay you for !

&

I de-

“ I detain none of you ; deliver my eyes from the
 “ odious object of such ungrateful citizens. No doubt
 “ but your parents and children will be mighty joy-
 “ ful to see you return without your king ! they will
 “ not fail to come out and meet deserters and traitors !
 “ depend upon it I’ll triumph over your flight, and
 “ where-ever I am I’ll punish you sufficiently for the
 “ same, if it be but in bestowing my favours on those
 “ with whom you leave me, and preferring them to
 “ your selves. You shall soon be sensible what an ar-
 “ my is without a head, and of what moment any
 “ single person is.” Then leaping from the tribunal
 in the utmost rage, he ran in amongst the arm’d sol-
 diers, and having taken notice of the most mutinous, he
 laid hold of thirteen of them one after another, and
 deliver’d them into the custody of his guards, none of
 them daring to make the least resistance.



C H A P. III.

WH O would imagine, that so tumultuous an
 assembly could have been so soon appeas’d !
 but they were seiz’d with so great a dread, that even
 those he was dragging to be made examples of did
 not dare to do any more than the rest. Thus this
 excessive license and military violence, was at once
 suppress’d, not one of them daring to make the least
 resistance, but standing all like men astonish’d, and
 half dead with fear, they quietly expected what the
 king would determine concerning their lives. Whether
 this proceeded from the reverence those nations, who
 are under a monarchical government, pay to their
 kings,

kings, whom they worship like gods, or from the particular veneration they had for his person, or that the confidence with which he exercis'd his power, struck an awe into them, it is certain, they gave on this occasion a singular example of their patience ; for they were so far from being exasperated by the punishment of their companions, who they understood had been executed in the evening, that they omitted nothing that single persons could have done to express their obedience, and expiate their crime. The next day when they presented themselves, and found they were prohibited entrance (the Asiatic troops being only admitted) the whole camp was fill'd with mournful cries, declaring, " they would live no longer, if the king persisted in his anger." But he being of an obstinate temper, in any thing he had resolv'd on, " confined the Macedonians to their " camp," and order'd the foreign soldiers to be drawn out, who being met together, he by an interpreter made the following speech to them. " When I " pass'd out of Europe into Asia, I fed myself with " the hopes of adding a great many considerable nations and multitudes of men to my empire, and " indeed I have not been impos'd upon by fame, in " the credit I gave her concerning them, but find " that besides what was commonly reported of them " they afford brave men, and of an unalterable affection towards their kings. I thought at first that " luxury prevail'd amongst you, and that by a redundant felicity, you were drown'd in pleasures. " Whereas I perceive you have so much vigour of mind " and strength of body, that you are indefatigable " in the discharge of military duties ; and at the same " time that you are brave, you do not cultivate fortitude more than loyalty. Tho' this be my first " profession to you hereof, yet I have been a great while

“ while convinc’d of it. It is on’ this account that I
“ made choice of you from the rest of the youth to
“ serve me, and incorporatèd you with my own
“ troops. Your cloaths and arms differ in nothing
“ from theirs, but your dutifulness and submission to
“ orders, is what you very much exceed them in.
“ These considerations made me marry the daughter
“ of Oxathres the Persian, not disdainig to have
“ children from a captive ; then coveting a numerous
“ offspring, I took Darius’s daughter in marriage,
“ and encourag’d my best friends by my example to
“ marry captives, that by the means of that sacred
“ bond, I might put an end to all difference between
“ the vanquish’d and victorious. Persuade your-
“ selves therefore for the future, that you are my na-
“ tural subjects, and not strangers, Asia and Europe
“ being now but one kingdom. I have arm’d you
“ after the manner of the Macedonians, and by that
“ means given age to foreign novelty. You are
“ both my citizens and soldiers. All things have
“ now the same appearance. It is no longer unbe-
“ coming the Persians to copy the manners of the
“ Macedonians, nor the Macedonians to imitate those
“ of the Persians. They who live under the same
“ sovereign, ought to have all the same laws and
“ privileges.” Having made this speech, * he com-
mitted the guard of his person to the Persians, put-
ting all the offices thereunto belonging into their
hands ; and as they were leading to execution those
Macedonians who had been the cause of this sedition,
it is said one of them whose age and character distin-
guish’d him from the rest, spoke after the following
manner to the king.

* Supplement,

C H A P.



C H A P. IV.

“ **H**OW long, Sir, will you give way to the
 “ transports of your mind, even to suffer us to
 “ be executed after this foreign custom? Your own
 “ foldiers, your own citizens are dragg’d to execu-
 “ tion by their captives, without so much as a legal
 “ hearing. If you really think we deserve death, at
 “ least do us the favour to change our executioners.

Most certainly this was a friendly advice, had he been capable of hearing the truth, but his anger was turn’d into rage; so that perceiving those who were charg’d with the prisoners, to be dilatory in their office, he commanded them to drown them in the river bound as they were. Nor did this unusual punishment raise any commotion among the soldiers; on the contrary, they repair’d in companies to the chief officers, and the king’s favourites, desiring, “ That if he
 “ knew of any more that were guilty of the same
 “ crime, he would command them to be also put to
 “ death, since they freely deliver’d up their bodies to
 “ appease his wrath.”

* But after they came to understand that he had given their posts to the Persians, and that the Eabarians were form’d into different regiments, unto whom he had given Macedonian denominations, while they were ignominiously rejected, they were no longer able to contain the grief that now pierc’d their very hearts; they therefore repair’d to

• Supplement.

the

the palace in their shirts, and laid their arms down before the gate, as a token of their repentance, and with tears and humble supplications begg'd to be admitted and forgiven, and that he would rather satisfy his anger with their executions than disgraces, protesting that for their parts they were resolv'd not to depart till they had obtain'd their pardons. Alexander being inform'd of this, caus'd the gates to be open'd, and came out to them, and taking into consideration all these testimonies of their repentance, and beholding their tears and wretched appearance, he was so mov'd thereat, that he could not refrain weeping with them for some time. In fine, their modesty prevail'd with him to forgive them, and having gently reprimanded them, and by courteous speeches comforted them again, he broke a great many of them who were no longer fit for the service, and sent them home magnificently rewarded. Then he writ to Antipater, his lieutenant of Macedonia, to assign them the first places in the theatre at the public spectacles, and withal, that they should sit there with crowns on their heads; and likewise order'd, that after their decease, their children should receive their pay. He appointed Craterus to lead them home, giving him also the charge of Macedon, Thessaly, and Thrace, in the room of Antipater, whom he commanded to repair to him with the recruits, to serve in the place of Craterus.

Alexander had perceiv'd for some time by his mother's letters, and those of Antipater, that there was not a right understanding between them. Olympias accus'd Antipater of aspiring to the crown: on the other side Antipater represented, that she did several things unbecoming her character; but finding himself recall'd from his government, he took it so to heart, that he resolv'd to poison the king.

Alexander

Alexander having settled these matters, came to Ecbatana in Media, where he made the necessary dispositions for the affairs of his empire, and repeated the publick shews and solemnities. While these things were doing, Hephæstion, whom the king lov'd entirely and like a brother, died of a fever. Alexander was so sensibly afflicted herewith, that out of indulgence to his grief, he did several things no way becoming the regal dignity ; for he caus'd the unhappy physician to be hang'd, as if he had been negligent in the cure, and with cries and lamentations flung himself upon the corpse of his deceas'd friend, bewailing his loss night and day, and would hardly suffer his friends to take him away. There are many other reports which I do not credit. However, this is certain, that he order'd sacrifices to be offer'd to him as to a hero, and employ'd in his funeral and tomb twelve thousand talents.

As he was returning to Babylon, several Chaldean prophets came to meet him, and advis'd him not to enter that city, because he set out thither in an unlucky hour, which seem'd to threaten his life. But he slighted their admonitions, and continu'd his intended journey ; for he was inform'd that ambassadors were come thither from all parts of the world, and waited there for his arrival. The terror of his name had spread it self so universally throughout the world, that all the nations seem'd to make their court to him, as to him who was ordain'd to be their sovereign. He therefore hasten'd his journey thither, as if he were there to hold a general diet of all the kingdoms of the earth.

Being arriv'd at Babylon, he receiv'd all the embassies very courteously, and sent them home. About this time one Medius a Thessalian gave a splendid entertainment, to which the king was invited with his friends. Here he had not quite drunk off Hercules's cup,

cup, when he gave a deep groan as if he had been run through the body, and being carry'd from the feast half dead, he found himself in such cruel torments, that he ask'd for a sword to put an end to his pain. His friends gave out, that too much wine was the cause of his illness, but in reality it was a conspiracy, the infamy whereof was stifi'd by the great power of his successors. For Antipater had deliver'd a ready prepar'd poison to his son Cassander, who, with his brothers Philip and Jollas, us'd to serve the king at table ; he at the same time warn'd him not to communicate it to any but the Thessalian and his brothers. Philip therefore and Jollas, who were the king's tasters, had put the poison into cold water, which they pour'd upon the wine the king was to drink, after they had, according to their office, made an essay thereof. On the fourth day, the soldiers (partly because they suspected he was dead, and that it was kept a secret from them, and partly because they could no longer bear the deprivation of his presence) came full of grief to the palace, desiring they might be admitted to see the king, which accordingly was granted them.



C H A P. V.

AS soon as they saw him, they burst into tears, and one would have thought they no longer beheld their king, but rather assisted at his funeral ; and yet the grief of those who stood about his bed appear'd still greater ; which the king perceiving, ask'd them, " where they would find (when he was dead) a sovereign worthy of such men ? " It is a thing that surpasses all belief, that notwithstanding his weak condition,

dition, he should be able to keep himself, as he did, in the same posture he had admitted the soldiers in, till all that army, to the last man, had saluted him.

Having dismiss'd this multitude, he laid down his wearied limbs, as if he had acquitted himself of the last debt of life. Then calling to his friends to draw nearer (for his voice began already to fail him) he took his ring off his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, enjoining him to convey his body to Hammon; and as they ask'd him, "to whom he bequeath'd his kingdom?" he answer'd, To the most worthy; but however, he foresaw what funeral plays were preparing him on that account. Perdiccas then desiring to know, when he would have divine honours paid him? he reply'd, When they themselves were happy." These were the king's last words, a little after which he expir'd.

Hereupon the palace was fill'd with cries and lamentations; and by and by, all was hush'd again as if it had been some lonesome waste, their grief being now turn'd into a serious reflection on what would ensue. The young noblemen who us'd to guard his person, were no longer able to contain their grief, nor keep themselves within the entrance of the palace, but ran about like so many mad men, filling the whole city with sadness, and omitting no kind of complaint that sorrow can suggest on such an occasion. The troops therefore that us'd to keep guard without the palace, as well Barbarians as Macedonians, flock'd thither, nor was it possible in their common affliction to discern the vanquish'd from the victors. The Persians call'd him, "their just and merciful lord; and" the Macedonians, the best and bravest of kings." They were not contented to utter their mournful expressions, but also gave way to transports of indignation, "that so young a prince, in the very flower of" his age and fortune, should through the envy of the
" gods,

“ gods, be so suddenly snatch’d from life and govern-
“ ment.” They now imagin’d, they beheld that
cheerful and resolute countenance with which he us’d
to lead them to battle, besiege the towns, scale the
walls, and reward the brave. Then the Macedoni-
ans repented “ they had ever deny’d him divine ho-
“ nours, and own’d they were both impious and un-
“ grateful to have denied his ears the satisfaction of a
“ title that was so justly his due.

Having employ’d a considerable time in expressing
their veneration, and bemoaning their loss, at last their
compassion turn’d upon themselves. They reflected,
that they came out of Macedonia, and were got be-
yond the Euphrates, and were left destitute in the
midst of their enemies, who despis’d their new em-
pire; that the king being dead without children,
and without naming a successor, every one would be
for drawing to himself the public strength of the
kingdom. Then they foresaw in their minds the ci-
vil wars that did ensue, and “ that they should be
“ oblig’d to shed their blood again, not for the con-
“ quest of Asia, but to decide who should be king;
“ that after having desir’d a discharge of their lawful
“ sovereign, their old wounds must bleed afresh,
“ aged and weak as they were, and their lives must
“ be flung away to establish the power of some mean
“ officer.”

While their thoughts were thus employ’d, night
came upon them, and increas’d their terror. The
soldiers pass’d it under their arms, and the Babylon-
ians stood gazing, some from the walls, and others
from the tops of their houses, in order to get a truer
information of what was doing. No body dar’d set
up lights, so that the use of the eyes being taken away,
they listen’d with attention to every noise and voice;
and as they were seiz’d with groundless fears, they
wander’d up and down the narrow streets and dark
lanes,

lanes, in great anxiety, running one against the other in a continual distrust of each other.

The Persians having, according to their custom, cut off their hair, and put on mourning cloaths, with their wives and children lamented his death, not as one who had conquer'd them, and was not long since their enemy, but as the lawful sovereign of their nation, with an unfeigned affection. Being us'd to live under kingly government, they confess'd they had never had a monarch more fit to reign over them than he. Nor was their grief confined within the walls of the city, but soon communicated itself to the neighbouring regions, and spread the rumour of so great an evil, over all that large portion of Asia, that lies on this side the Euphrates. It quickly also reach'd Darius's mother, who presently rent her garments, and put on a mourning dress, tearing off her hair, and flinging herself upon the ground. She had by her one of her grand-daughters, who was bewailing the death of Hephæstion, to whom she was married, and now in this general calamity renew'd her own peculiar grief. But Sisigambis alone felt all the misfortunes of her unhappy family. She bemoan'd her own condition, and that of her grand-daughters, and this new affliction recall'd all the past. One would have thought Darius was but just dead, and that this distress'd mother was at the same time performing the funerals of both her sons. She wept as well for the living as the dead. "For who was there now to
" take care of her grand-children? Who would prove
" another Alexander? They were at present fallen
" into a fresh captivity, and had anew lost their
" royal dignity. Upon the death of Darius they
" had found a protector, but Alexander being dead,
" who would have any regard to them?" Here it also came into her mind, "how her father and fourscore
" brothers had been in one day barbarously murder'd
" by

“ by that cruellest of kings, Ochus. That of seven
“ children she had herself had, there was but one
“ living : And tho’ Darius flourish’d for a while, it
“ was only that his fate might be the more remarka-
“ bly cruel.”

At last she sunk under the load of so much grief, and covering her head, turn’d her back to her grandchildren, who sat at her feet, and depriv’d herself at once both of food and the light, and expir’d the fifth day after she had thus resolv’d to die. Her death is indubitably a great instance of Alexander’s indulgence to her, and of his clemency and justice to all the captives ; for she who could reconcile herself to life after Darius’s death, was asham’d to out-live Alexander : And most certainly it is plain to all that will do the king justice, that his virtues were owing to his nature ; whereas his vices were the effects of fortune, or his age. He had an incredible strength of mind, his patience under fatigues was almost excessive ; and his bravery did not only excell that of other kings, but even that of those who have no other virtue. His liberality was such, that he would often bestow more than could with modesty have been requested of the gods. His clemency to the vanquish’d shews itself in the many kingdoms he restor’d to those he had conquer’d, or gratuitously conferr’d on others. He had so habitual a contempt of death (which appears so terrible to all the rest of mankind) that he seem’d to bid it defiance every where. Indeed he had too great a thirst after glory and praise, but that was pardonable in a young prince who had done such glorious things. He could not give greater demonstrations of his dutiful affection to his parents, than in the resolution he had taken to place his mother amongst the goddesses, and in the revenge he took of Philip’s murderers. As for his bounty towards his friends, it was beyond expression, as well as his bene-

benevolence to the soldiers. His conduct was equal to the greatness of his mind, and his wisdom was far above his age. He was moderate in those pleasures that seem'd incapable of moderation ; in venereal delights he kept within the bounds of nature, and indulg'd no unlawful voluptuousness. These must be own'd to be mighty gifts ; now the failings which are to be attributed to fortune, were, his equalling himself to the gods, and exacting divine honours, and his giving credit to the oracles on these occasions ; to which we may add his being transported beyond measure, against those who refus'd to adore him ; his imitating the manners of the conquer'd nations, which before the victory he despis'd. As for his proneness to anger, and his love of wine, as they were enhanced by the heat of youth, so age would have abated them of course. However, we must allow, that if he ow'd a great deal to his virtue, yet he was still more indebted to fortune, which he alone of all mankind seem'd to have within his power. How many times has she snatch'd him out of the jaws of death ? How many times, when he has rashly expos'd himself to manifest dangers, has she shewn her constant care of him, by bringing him off ? And to crown his felicity, his life and glory had one and the same period. The destinies waited for him till he had subdu'd the east, and visited the ocean ; in fine, till he had done all that mortality is capable of.

To this great king and mighty captain a successor was wanting, but the burthen was too great for any single person to bear, now he was gone ; and to speak the truth, his very name, and the fame of his great atchievements, established kings and kingdoms almost throughout the world, and they were look'd upon to be very powerful who had but the smallest portion of so vast a fortune.

C H A P



C H A P. VI.

BUT let us return to Babylon, from whence we made our digression ; here the guards of his person call'd together in the palace the chief of his friends, and the principal officers of the army ; they were followed by a great number of soldiers, who were desirous to know who was like to succeed Alexander. The concourse of soldiers was so great, that several considerable officers could not get admittance ; hereupon a herald made proclamation, that none should offer to enter but such as should be call'd by their names. But no heed was had to the present precarious power ; at first there was nothing but mournful cries, and the lamentations seem'd to be renew'd ; afterwards the expectation of what would ensue put a stop to their tears, and caus'd a silence. Then Perdiccas order'd the royal chair to be brought forth, and having put therein Alexander's diadem and robes with his arms, he expos'd them all to the publick view ; he also laid in the said chair the ring the king had given him the day before ; at the sight hereof the whole assembly burst out again in tears, and mourn'd afresh. Perdiccas then spoke to them in the following manner : ‘ I here restore to you the
“ ring which the king was pleas'd to give me, and
“ with which he us'd to sign his orders, and corroborate all his acts of power ; and notwithstanding
“ the gods in their anger could not contrive any
“ misfortune that could equal that we at present lie
“ under, yet if we cast our eyes on the mighty things
“ he has perform'd, we shall find it reasonable to
“ believe,

“ believe, that the gods had only lent so great a man
“ to the necessity of human affairs, and that having
“ discharg’d the noble task, they resum’d him to
“ themselves as their natural off-spring. Since there-
“ fore there is nothing left of him now but what can-
“ not share in his immortality, let us, as soon as
“ may be, acquit ourselves of what we owe to his
“ illustrious name and body, without forgetting in
“ what city, and amongst whom we are, and at the
“ same time what a king and protector we are de-
“ priv’d of. We must also, fellow-soldiers, consult
“ about the necessary measures to maintain the victo-
“ ries we have gain’d. A head is absolutely requisite;
“ whether you will have one, or many, is at your
“ own disposal; but this you ought to know, that
“ an army without a general, is a body without a
“ soul. Roxane is gone six months of her time, it is
“ to be wish’d she may bring forth a son, who with
“ the approbation of the gods, may inherit the em-
“ pire when he is grown up. In the mean time, it
“ is your business to determine, who you will entrust
“ the government with till then.” Perdiccas having
made this speech, Nearchus reply’d, “ That indeed
“ no body could deny, but Alexander’s blood and
“ off-spring would best become the regal dignity;
“ but then to wait for a prince who was not yet
“ born, and pass by one that was, could neither suit
“ the Macedonians temper, nor the present exigency
“ of affairs: As therefore Barsine had a son by the
“ king, it was his opinion they ought to give him
“ the diadem.” No body approv’d of this speech,
so that according to their custom, they express’d their
displeasure by the clashing of their spears and bucklers,
and were pretty near coming to a sedition upon Near-
chus’s obstinately maintaining his opinion. Hercupon
Ptolemy spoke to this effect: “ It must be own’d
“ you have pitch’d upon a very noble issue to com-
“ mand

“mand the Macedonian nation, in the son either of
“Roxane or Barsine, whom Europe would hardly
“think worthy to be nam’d, as partaking too much
“of the captive. Did we conquer the Persians only
“to serve their off-spring? A thing that even Darius
“and Xerxes, who were lawful kings, had with
“numberless armies and strong fleets in vain at-
“tempted. My opinion is, that Alexander’s seat
“being plac’d in the palace, they who were of his
“council heretofore should there meet, whenever
“the publick affairs require their consultations, and
“that the officers of all ranks shall be oblig’d to
“obey whatever the major part shall there agree to.”
Some were of Ptolemy’s opinion, but the most consi-
derable sided with Perdiccas. Then Aristonius put
the assembly in mind, “That Alexander being ask’d,
“to whom he left his kingdom?” reply’d, “To
“the best and most deserving; and that he seem’d to
“have declar’d whom he thought most worthy, by
“giving his ring to Perdiccas; for he was not the
“only person that was present at his death, but hav-
“ing cast his eye round the company, he made
“choice of him above all the rest of his friends to
“bestow his ring upon. It was therefore his opinion,
“that the sovereignty ought to be conferr’d upon
“Perdiccas.” No body in the least doubted but
what he said was right, wherefore they order’d Per-
diccas “to come forth, and take up the king’s ring.”
He was at a stand between desire and bashfulness, and
believ’d that the more backward and modest he shew’d
himself in what he most coveted, the more obstinate
would they be, in pressing him to accept the same.
After some delay, being uncertain what resolution to
take, at last he got up, and retir’d behind those who
sat next to him; but Meleager, who was one of the
captains, taking courage from Perdiccas’s backward-
ness said, “The god’s forbid that Alexander’s for-
Vol. II. I “tune,

“ tune, and the sovereignty of so vast an empire,
 “ should fall upon such shoulders ; at least I am sure
 “ that they who are men will never suffer it. I do
 “ not here speak only of those who are of nobler
 “ extraction than he, but in general terms, of all the
 “ men of courage, against whose consent it is requi-
 “ site nothing should be done. Neither does it mat-
 “ ter much, whether you have the son of Roxane
 “ (let him be born when he will) or Perdiccas for your
 “ king ; since the latter, under the pretext of
 “ guardianship, will not fail to possess himself of the
 “ supreme power. This is the reason that he likes
 “ no king but him who is not yet come into the
 “ world ; and in the great desire we all express to
 “ have a king (which at this juncture is not only just,
 “ but even necessary) he is the only person that is
 “ for waiting the complement of months, nay, he
 “ already prognosticates ’twill be a son ; and rather
 “ than fail, there is no doubt to be made, but he
 “ will impose one upon you. Most certainly, if
 “ Alexander had left us him for our king, it would
 “ in my opinion be the only thing we should be
 “ oblig’d to disobey him in. Why don’t you rather
 “ fall a pillaging the treasury ? For there is no dis-
 “ pute but the people is heir to all the king’s riches.”
 Having deliver’d himself to this purpose, he broke
 thro’ the armed crowd ; and those who gave way to
 his retreat, follow’d him to partake of the aforesaid
 booty.



C H A P. VII.

BY this time a great band of soldiers were got
 about Melcager, and the whole assembly seem’d
 inclin’d to sedition and discord, when one of the
meaner

meaner sort, who was altogether unknown to the major part of the Macedonians, deliver'd himself in this manner to them : “ What occasion is there to
 “ have recourse to arms, or engage in a civil war,
 “ when you have already the king you seek ? Ari-
 “ dæus, the son of Philip, and brother to Alexander
 “ the late king, and who, during his life, was a
 “ partner with him in the sacred rites and ceremonies,
 “ and is now his only heir, is laid aside. What is his
 “ crime ? What has he done that he should thus be
 “ depriv'd of the common law of nations ? If you
 “ seek for one like Alexander, it is what you can ne-
 “ ver hope to find ; if the next in right, Aridæus is
 “ the only person.” Hereupon the multitude at first
 grew silent, as if aw'd by authority, and afterwards
 cry'd out with one general voice, “ That Aridæus
 “ ought to be call'd, and that they deserv'd death,
 “ who had held the assembly without him.” Then
 Pithon, dissolv'd in tears, represented to them, “ That
 “ now, if ever, Alexander was to be pity'd, for be-
 “ ing deprived of the benefit as well as presence of
 “ such good citizens and soldiers, who were so en-
 “ tirely wrapt up in the name and memory of their
 “ king, that they seem'd to have no other regard.

It was too plain, that by these words he reflected
 on the young prince to whom they design'd the king-
 dom, but he thereby procur'd more ill-will to him-
 self, than contempt to Aridæus ; for while they pity'd
 his misfortune, they grew favourably dispos'd towards
 him. They therefore obstinately declare, “ That
 “ they will suffer no other to reign over them, than
 “ he who was born to that hope ;” and immediately
 order'd Aridæus “ to be sent for.” Hereupon Mc-
 leager, who was Perdiccas's mortal enemy, brought
 him forthwith into the palace, where the soldiers sa-
 lute him as a king under the name of Philip.

However, this was but the voice of the vulgar sort, the nobles were of another opinion, amongst whom Pithon began to execute Perdiccas's advice, and appointed Perdiccas and Leonatus " (who were of the " royal family) to be guardians to the son Roxane " was to bring forth ;" with this farther proposition, " That Craterus and Antipater should have the administration of the affairs of Europe." Then every one took an oath " to be true to Alexander's issue." This made Meleager (who was, not without cause, apprehensive of future punishment) withdraw with his party ; but he soon return'd again, and bringing Philip along with him, he forc'd his way into the palace, crying aloud, " That Aridæus's vigorous " age seem'd to favour the hopes the publick had " conceiv'd of the new king ; that therefore they " ought to make trial of Philip's posterity, as being " the son and brother of two kings, and frame their " judgment of him upon their own knowledge and " experience." The deepest sea, or most tempestuous strait, does not stir up more billows than the multitude has different motions, especially if it grows wanton with a liberty they think they are not long to enjoy. Some few were for conferring the empire on Perdiccas lately chosen, but a great many more were for giving it to Philip than he really expected. They could neither approve nor disapprove of any thing long ; one while they repented of the measures they had taken, and presently after repented that they had repented ; however, at last their affections inclin'd them to the royal issue.

Aridæus, dreading the power of the nobility, had left the assembly ; upon his departure, the military ardour seem'd rather to be silenc'd than cool'd ; so that being call'd back again, they dress'd him in his brother's robes, the very same that lay in the chair ; and Meleager having put on his breast-plate, and taken

ken his arms, follow'd as if he had the guard of the new king's person. The Phalanx clashing their spears and bucklers, threaten'd "to satiate themselves with the blood of those who had aspired to a crown that no way belong'd to them;" and were mightily pleas'd "that the power of the empire was to remain in the same house and family; for as the empire was hereditary, it of right belong'd to the royal line, and they were accustom'd to pay a veneration and respect to the very name, which no one could take, but he who was born to reign."

Perdiccas being alarm'd at this proceeding, order'd the room where Alexander's body lay to be shut and guarded." He had with him six hundred men of known courage; and Ptolemy had also join'd him, and the royal band of young noblemen. However, it was no difficult matter for so many thousand men to break in upon them. The king likewise (attended by his guards, commanded by Meleager) forc'd his way in. Hereupon Perdiccas in great anger "call'd to his assistance all those who were willing to preserve Alexander's corps from being insulted." But they who had made the irruption cast their darts at him from afar, and wounded several; at last the oldest amongst them took off their helmets (that they might be the more easily known) and entreated Perdiccas's party, "That they would forbear coming to engagement, and submit themselves to the king, and the greater number." Perdiccas was the first that laid down his arms, and the rest follow'd his example. Then Meleager endeavour'd to persuade them, "not to depart from Alexander's corps." But they mistrusting some treachery, got out at another part of the palace, and fled towards the Euphrates. The horse, which was compos'd of the noblest youth, follow'd Perdiccas and Leonatus, and were for leaving the city, and taking to the open field. But as

Perdiccas did not altogether despair of bringing the foot also to his party, he stay'd in the city, lest by carrying off the horse he should seem to have separated from the rest of the army.



C H A P. VIII.

IN the mean time Meleager never ceas'd putting the king in mind, " That he ought to confirm his sovereign authority by the death of Perdiccas ; and that if his ambitious spirit was not prevented, he would not fail to cause innovations. That he could not forget what he had deserv'd at the king's hands, and that no man could be faithful to him, he fear'd." The king rather suffer'd than approv'd of his counsel ; however, Meleager took his silence for a command, and immediately sent messengers to Perdiccas to order him " to come to the king," which if he made the least difficulty to comply with, they were to kill him. Perdiccas being advis'd of their coming, plac'd himself at the entrance of his house, accompany'd only by sixteen youths of the royal band ; and having reprimanded them and reproached them with being Meleager's slaves, he so terrify'd them with his resolution and stern countenance, that they fled in the greatest consternation. Then Perdiccas order'd the young gentlemen " to mount their horses," and then with a few friends repair'd to Leonatus, where he would be in a better condition to repel any violence that might be offer'd him. The next day the Macedonians took it heinously, that Perdiccas should be brought in danger of death, and were resolv'd by force of arms to punish Meleager's temerity. But he foreseeing the evil, went to the king, and ask'd
him

him in their presence, “ Whether he had not or-
 “ der’d Perdiccas to be taken into custody ?” Who
 made answer, “ Yes, but it was by Meleager’s ad-
 “ vice. However, there was no occasion for their
 “ being disturb’d thereat, since Perdiccas was alive
 “ and unhurt.”

The king having thus dismiss’d the assembly, Me-
 leager (who was frighten’d at the separation of the
 horse) was now at a loss what counsel to take, for he
 found himself in the danger he had been contriving
 for his enemy ; so that he spent three days in confi-
 dering with himself, what course he had best to take.
 All this while the court had its usual appearance ; for
 the ambassadors of foreign nations took their audience
 of the king ; the generals of the army were there
 present, and the soldiers kept guard at the entrance.
 But there appear’d an unaccountable sadness in all
 their faces, which was an indication of the utmost
 despair, and being mutually distrustful of each other,
 they did not dare to accost, or talk to one another,
 but gave a scope to their private thoughts, and by
 comparing the new king with their former, they
 were the more sensible of their loss. They in vain
 enquir’d, “ Where was now that prince whose autho-
 “ rity and conduct they had so successfully follow’d ?”
 They complain’d, “ That they were left destitute in
 “ the midst of their enemies, and unconquer’d na-
 “ tions, who would not fail to revenge the wrongs
 “ and losses they had sustain’d, whenever an oppor-
 “ tunity should offer itself.”

Their minds were rack’d with these reflections,
 when news was brought, “ That the cavalry under
 “ Perdiccas, having possess’d themselves of the ave-
 “ nues about Babylon, hinder’d any corn from being
 “ brought to the city.” From hence a scarcity first
 ensu’d, and then a famine ; whereupon they who re-
 main’d in the town were of opinion, “ That they
 I 4 “ ought

“ ought either to reconcile themselves with Perdiccas,
“ or give him battle.”

In the mean time it happen'd, that they who liv'd in the country, being apprehensive that the villages and villa's would be plunder'd, fled to the city ; and the town's-people wanting provisions, retir'd into the country ; each party thinking they should be safer any where else than where they were. The Macedonians, fearing some commotions herefrom, met together in the palace, and there acquainted the king with what they thought advisable to be done in the present juncture, which was “ That deputies should be sent
“ to the cavalry, to require them to put an end to
“ the discord, and lay down their arms.” The king therefore dispatch'd Pafas the Thessalian, Amiffas the Megapolitan, and Perilaus to them, who having acquainted them with the king's orders, receiv'd for answer, “ That the horse were resolv'd not to lay
“ down their arms till the authors of the sedition
“ were deliver'd into their hands.” This answer was no sooner reported, than the soldiers ran to their arms of their own accord, and the king being alarm'd at the sudden tumult, came out of the palace, and told them : “ There is no good to be expected from
“ sedition, for they that lie still, will certainly reap
“ the advantage the contenders strive for. Besides,
“ you ought to remember, that the matter lies with
“ your own countrymen, and that it is hastening to a
“ civil war, rashly to take from them all hopes of
“ reconciliation. Let us therefore try what effect
“ another deputation may have ; for as the king's
“ body is not yet buried, I am of opinion, they will
“ all unite to discharge that last duty to him. As for
“ my own part, I had much rather resign the em-
“ pire, than maintain it at so dear a rate as the effu-
“ sion of my countrymens blood. And if there is no
“ other means to come to an agreement, I beg and
“ beseech

“ beseech you to make choice of one that may be
 “ more deserving.” Then with tears in his eyes, he
 took the diadem from his head, and holding it out in
 his right hand, offer’d it “ to any that thought he
 “ was more worthy of it than himself.”

This modest speech gave them mighty hopes of his
 ability, which till then had been eclips’d by his bro-
 ther’s brighter parts. They all therefore press’d him
 “ to execute what he himself thought proper.”
 Hereupon he dispatch’d the same persons again to de-
 sire “ they would receive Meleager amongst them as
 “ third general.” This was easily obtain’d, for Per-
 diccas was desirous to remove Meleager from the
 king, and reasonably judg’d, that being but one, he
 could not be a match for them two.

Meleager therefore march’d out with the phalanx,
 and Perdiccas went to meet him at the head of the
 horse. Both bodies (after their mutual salutations)
 unite, as they thought, to live in a perpetual peace
 and right understanding with one another.



C H A P. IX.

BUT fate was now bringing a civil war upon the
 Macedonian nation ; for a crown admits of no
 partners, and it was at this time coveted by many.
 First then they join’d their forces together, and after-
 wards again divided them. And as they had loaded
 the body with more than it could bear, the other
 members began to fail, and that empire that might
 have maintain’d itself under one sovereign, falls to
 ruin, while it is supported by many. It is therefore
 I 5 with

with the greatest reason, that the Roman people acknowledge they owe their safety to their prince, who appear'd to them like a new star, on that very night that had like to have been their last. And most certainly it was the rising of this new sun, that restor'd light to the darkened world, when having lost their head, the discording members were in the greatest apprehensions. How many firebrands did he then put out? How many swords did he then sheath? How black was the storm that clear'd up at his sudden appearance? The empire may therefore be said not only to recover its strength, but even to flourish through his means.

But that I may now return to the series of my narration, which the contemplation of the public happiness made me interrupt: Perdiccas plac'd all the hopes of his own safety in Meleager's death, and concluded, "That (as he was a vain man, no way
" to be rely'd on, and might be capable of causing
" sudden changes, and withal was his mortal enemy)
" he ought to prevent him." However, he cloath'd his design with a deep dissimulation, that he might destroy him when he least suspected it. He therefore suborn'd some of those that were under his own command, to complain publickly (as from themselves)
" that Meleager was made equal to Perdiccas." Meleager being inform'd hereof, came to Perdiccas in great anger, and related to him what he was told; he seem'd surpriz'd at the novelty of the thing, and began to wonder at it, and complain, and put on an appearance of concern thereat; at last they agreed,
" That the authors of such seditious reports should be
" apprehended."

Hereupon Meleager thank'd and embrac'd Perdiccas, "praising his fidelity, and his bountiful disposition towards him." Then they concerted what measures

measures they should take to punish the guilty ; and they agreed that the army should be purify'd after the custom of their country ; and the late divisions were a plausible pretence for that purpose- The kings of Macedon us'd to purify their army after this manner : They ripp'd open a bitch, and took out her bowels, and cast them at the two extremities of the field the army was to be led into, and in the immediate space all the forces were drawn up, the horse on one side, and the Phalanx on the other.

On the day therefore this ceremony was to be executed, the king at the head of the horse and elephants, plac'd himself directly opposite to the foot, which was commanded by Meleager. The cavalry had no sooner begun to move, than the foot were seiz'd with a sudden fear on the account of the late discord, and began to suspect that they were not peaceably inclin'd, so that they were in some doubt whether they should not march back again into the city ; for the plain seem'd most favourable to the horse. However, lest they should without a cause blame the integrity of their fellow-soldiers, they kept their post, resolv'd to defend themselves if they were attack'd. Both bodies were pretty near one another, being divided but by a small interval, when the king at the head of one of the wings, rid along the line of the foot, and by Perdiccas's advice, demanded the
 “ authors of the division (whom he ought to have
 “ protected) to be delivered up, to suffer condign pu-
 “ nishment ;” threatening at the same time, (if they refus'd to comply) to fall upon them with all the troops and elephants. The foot were amaz'd at the unforeseen evil, and Meleager himself had no more courage or counsel than the rest ; but they thought it the safest way to wait, and see what the event would be, rather than try fortune. Then Perdiccas
 16 seeing

seeing the dejected condition they were in, drew out about three hundred of them, who had follow'd Meleager when he left the first assembly that was held after Alexander's death, and cast them to the elephants in the sight of all the army, so that they were all trampled to death by those animals, without Philip's either opposing or authorising the same; it being plain, that he did not design to own any thing to be done by his order, but what should be plausible in the event. This was the omen and beginning of the civil wars amongst the Macedonians. Meleager was too late sensible of Perdiccas's fraud, but as no violence was then offer'd to his own person, he remain'd quiet with the Phalanx; however, at last despairing of his safety, when he saw his enemies, in order to ruin him, make an abuse of that prince's name, whom he himself had made king, he took sanctuary in a temple, where he was slain without any regard to the religion of the place.





C H A P. X.

Perdiccas having led the army back again into the town, held a council of all the chief persons, where they came to this resolution, that the empire should be divided, but the king should hold the sovereign authority ; that Ptolemy “ should be satrap of “ Egypt, and of all the nations in Africa within the “ jurisdiction of the Macedonian power.” Syria, with Phænicia, was given to Laomedon ; Cilicia to Philotas ; Lycia, with Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were assign’d to Antigonius. Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander into Lydia. The lesser Phrygia that joins to the Hellespont, was allotted to Leonnatus. Cappadocia and Paphlagonia fell to the share of Eumenes ; he was also commanded to defend all that country as far as Trapezus, and to make war with Arbates, who alone refus’d to submit to the Macedonian yoke. Python had Media, and Lysimachus Thracia, with all the Pontic nations that border upon the Thracian territories. They who commanded in India, Bactra, and over the Sogdians, and other nations bordering on the ocean or red sea, were to hold the power of jurisdiction, with the same limitations they had formerly held the same. It was likewise ordained, that Perdiccas should remain with the king, and have the command of those troops that fol-

follow'd his majesty. Some have been of opinion, that the provinces were thus distributed by Alexander's testament; but we are satisfy'd that that was only a vain report, notwithstanding some authors wrote so.

Having thus divided the empire, every one defend-
ed his own portion, and might have secur'd the founda-
tions they had laid, if it was possible to set bounds
to immoderate desires. For they who but a little be-
fore were the king's servants, now under the pretence
of discharging a power intrusted with them, did each
possess themselves of large dominions; all cause of
strife being taken away, since they were all of the
same nation, and had their respective territories mark'd
out and distinguish'd from the others. But it was a
difficult matter for them to be contented with what
opportunity had offer'd them, for the first beginnings
are despis'd, when we hope to make greater improv-
ments. Every one of them therefore thought it ea-
sier to enlarge his kingdom, than it was to receive it.
It was now the seventh day that Alexander's body
lay in his coffin, without having receiv'd the funeral
rites, all their cares being diverted from that solemnity,
to settle and form the public state. It is observable,
that there is no country where the heat of the sun has
a greater influence than in Mesopotamia, insomuch
that it kills the greatest part of those animals that lie
expos'd in the open field without shelter, and parches
up every thing, as if they had been burnt by a fire.
Moreover, springs are here very rare, and by the
cunning of the inhabitants conceal'd. They preserve
them for their own use, without letting strangers know
where they are. Notwithstanding this, when Alex-
ander's friends were at leisure to take care of the
dead body, they found it without the least taint, or

spot of corruption : nay, that liveliness that accompanies only animated bodies, had not forsaken his face. The Egyptians therefore and the Chaldeans being order'd to embalm the corps after their manner, were at first afraid to lay hands upon it, as though it were still living ; but afterwards having intreated him, that it might be lawful for mortal hands to touch him, they dress'd his body, and fill'd his golden coffin with odoriferous materials, putting the token of his dignity upon his head.

It was generally believ'd, that he dy'd of poison, and that Jollas, Antipater's son, being one of those who serv'd him at table, had by his father's orders given it him. It is certain, that Alexander was often heard to say, “ That Antipater aspir'd to the regal “ dignity, and that he was more powerful than a lieutenant ought to be, and being puff'd up on the account of the Spartan victory, he seem'd to lay a claim of right to all he had entrusted him with.” It was also thought, “ that Craterus was sent with “ the dismiss'd old soldiers to kill him.” Now the nature of the Macedonian poison, is such, that it preys upon iron it self, and can be kept in nothing but the hoof of a beast. The fountain from whence this poisonous liquor flows, is call'd the Styx. This was brought by Cassander, “ and deliver'd by him “ to his brother Jollas, who mix'd it with the king's “ last draught.

However these things were reported, they were soon stifled by the power of those that were aspers'd thereby. For Antipater invaded not only the kingdom of Macedonia, but also Greece, and his offspring succeeded him therein, he having put to death all who were any way (though never so remotely) related to Alexander. As for the king's body, it was convey'd

vey'd by Ptolemy (who had Egypt for his portion) first to Memphis; and a few years after, to Alexandria, where all honour is paid to his name and memory.



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T H E

A D D I T I O N S.





A N

ACCOUNT

OF THE

COPPER PLATES.

THE effigies of Alexander is taken from Urfinus's coins, and Begerus's Thesaurus of the Palat. coins.

The cutt of Philip is taken from the same.

The heads of Aristotle and Homer are from Bel-lorius's Medals.

The pieces of money which represent the rivers Marfyas and Lycus, are after Morellus's specimens, Tab. 11.

Midas's face is taken from Spon's miscellanies, p. 130.

The waggon, and the knot of the yoke or Gordian knot, from Trajan's pillar, tab. 41.

The Theffalian horsemen from Begerus's Thesaurus, and Goltzius's Greece, tab. 21.

Cydnus from Morellus's specimen, tab. 11.

Both

Both the chorus's of Bacchus are from the Roman antiquities, tab. 54, & 55. of which Christian Godlib. Schwarzius the publick professor in the university of Alforten has treated learnedly and accurately in a particular dissertation in his miscellanies of polite literature published at Norimberg in the year 1721.

The Tyrian Hercules is copied from Seguin, p. 164.

The Tyrian Apollo is taken from Caracalla's coin as describ'd by Vaillant in his second tome of colonies.

The face of Jupiter Ammon was engrav'd from Patinus's Thesaurus, p. 151. and the 16th table of Morellus's specimen, and from Wheler's voyages, numb. 15. To which is added, the effigies with which the most judicious Vossius obliged the world in his notes upon Pomponius Mela, B. 1. c. 8. as the most illustrious E. Spanheim has represented it in his fifth dissertation upon the use and value of coins, p. 350. in Quarto.

The countenance of Olympias is from a jewel of Trajan describ'd by Angelonius, p. 122. and Leo. Augustine, numb. 76.

The dromedaries from the coins of Caracalla and Commodus, according to Patinus Thesaur. p. 264, and 364.

The Trophy of Alexander was furnished by Goltzius in the 31st tab. of Greece.

The money describ'd by Erizzo, p. 163. has the Rhinoceros.

We find king Seuthes his image in the choice coins of Seguin, p. 31.

To all which we have added a plate expressing the wheels of the armed chariots, as M. Kaderus, J. Scheffer, G. Stewechius upon Vegetius, and the most excellent Ja. Perizonius have severally delineated them.



*The Opinions of learned Men concerning
the Name, Age, Condition, Style and
History of Quintus Curtius.*

THE learned world are pretty much divided in their sentiments about this author, and the time in which he flourished ; some referring him to the age of Augustus, and others bringing him down as low as Theodosius ; nor are there wanting those who pronounce him a modern sophist under that feigned name, affecting to write in the language of the Augustan age. None of the ancient writers, when they speak of any person of the name of Curtius, observe that he was an historian, or wrote of Alexander the Great, nor is there any notice taken of such an history extant in the earlier ages, at least not until the twelfth century. He himself mentions some occurrences in the Roman empire in his time, but then he has express'd himself so obscurely, that some interpret him to point out one period and some another, so that nothing can certainly be concluded from what he has delivered on this subject : His words in his tenth book, the ninth chapter, p. 202. are as follow. “ It is therefore with the greatest
“ reason, that the Roman people acknowledge they
“ owe their safety to their prince, who appear'd to
“ them like a new star, on that very night that had
“ like to have been their last ; and most certainly it
“ was his rising, and not that of the sun, that restor'd
“ light to the darken'd world, when having lost its
“ head

“ head, the discording members were in the greatest
 “ apprehensions, how many firebrands did he then
 “ put out? How many swords did he then sheath?
 “ How black was the storm that clear’d up at his
 “ sudden appearance? The empire may therefore be
 “ said not only to recover its strength, but even to
 “ flourish through his means, so that no body can
 “ blame me if I wish that his posterity may long
 “ enjoy the sovereign power, if not for ever.”
 From whence several believe that he intended the
 time between the murder of Julius Cæsar, and the
 settlement of Augustus in the empire, which is de-
 scribed much after the same manner by Virgil in his
 first Georgic.

“ He first the fate of Cæsar did foretel,
 “ And pity’d Rome, when Rome in Cæsar fell :
 “ In iron clouds conceal’d the public light,
 “ And impious mortals fear’d eternal night.
 Dryden Virg. 1.

Which Tibullus also relates, 2. 5.

And both Plutarch and Pliny, who are grave
 writers, inform us, that the year which followed the
 death of Julius was very dark and gloomy, and the
 weather so unseasonable that it fill’d every body with
 amazement; so that upon this supposition he seems
 to be the Curtius mention’d by Tully in the second
 epistle of his third book, who gives him the character
 of a good and learned youth; and in a catalogue of
 orators annex’d to Suetonius’s history, he is men-
 tioned immediately after Cestius Pius, and M. Por-
 tius Latro, the last of which liv’d in the fortieth
 year of Augustus, which gives some countenance to
 this conjecture. But then what he says in the fourth
 book, chap. 4. p. 211. that Tyre by the help of a
 long

long peace enjoy'd a profound ease under the protection of the Roman clemency, could not be true of the reign of Augustus, in the beginning of which he is thought to have written his history, because the first part of Augustus's time was disturb'd by wars for about twenty years together, so that he must rather be referr'd to some later period. There are criticks who believe the danger and deliverance of the Romans to be intended of the sickness and death of Augustus, and the inauguration of Tiberius, of which both Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus speak in the same strain of flattery. There is one Curtius an orator, whom Juvenal speaks of in his eleventh satyr; but he was different from our historian, being not Curtius Rufus but Curtius Montanus. We meet with one of his name in Tacitus his Annals, B. 11. and in the seventh book of Pliny's epistles, who liv'd in Tiberius and Claudius's time, and became a great man, being successively quæstor, prætor, consul, and at last proconsul of Africa, who must have been of a prodigious age to be the same with him whom Tully speaks of; nor is it credible he should have been advanc'd or capable of discharging that office at more than an hundred years old. It is reported that he was the son of a gladiator, and being made prætor by Tiberius, that prince seem'd to hint at the meanness of his extraction, and to compliment his merit at the same time when he said he sprung from himself. And then the passage of the tenth book which is recited above may be interpreted of the time of Caligula's death, and Claudius's ascending the throne. There are others who believe this account may much better be accommodated to Vespasian's age, whose virtue and clemency are deservedly celebrated in history, and who establish'd peace and tranquility almost over the whole world,
in

in whose family they might hope the fame would be perpetuated. There are some who place Curtius in Trajan's reign, and others who will not allow Curtius to be more antient than Theodosius, tho' they have no proof to support such an assertion. They who censure him as a mere modern sophist, imitating under a borrow'd name the language and style of the purest age, chiefly depend upon this argument, that no writer has upon any occasion took notice of Curtius till after the tenth century of christianity ; for they who affirm that his history was not known or mentioned till the fifteenth century are grossly mistaken ; for Petrus Blæsenfis speaks of his being used in the schools, and the advantage he himself receiv'd from reading him, which was about the year 1150 ; and Gaulterus Belga's *Alexandreis* was compos'd in the twelfth century, in which Quintus Curtius's words are mostly chosen, and put into verse. The very antient manuscripts which are torn and worn out in many places sufficiently refute the pretence of his being a late writer ; and what puts the matter beyond all controversy is, that there is a manuscript of Curtius in the Colbertine library above eight hundred years old, as Montfaucon observes ; and Wagenfeil asserts, that he met with a letter of Lucas Holstenius to one of the Medici, duke of Tuscany, in which he delivered his judgment concerning some manuscripts in his library, that there was a copy of Curtius in one sheet numbred 63, about seven hundred years old. Upon the whole, this author seems most probably to have lived and wrote in Vespasian's time ; he must have been later than Augustus, because he follows Diodorus in many passages as manifestly as Livy does Polybius ; and he cannot reasonably be thought to have wrote after Trajan's time, because he would then in all probability have given a more exact

exact description of the red sea, to which Trajan extended the Roman empire, and which therefore he might have inform'd himself, and would scarce have omitted so fair an opportunity of celebrating the praises of that prince, and the people of Rome.

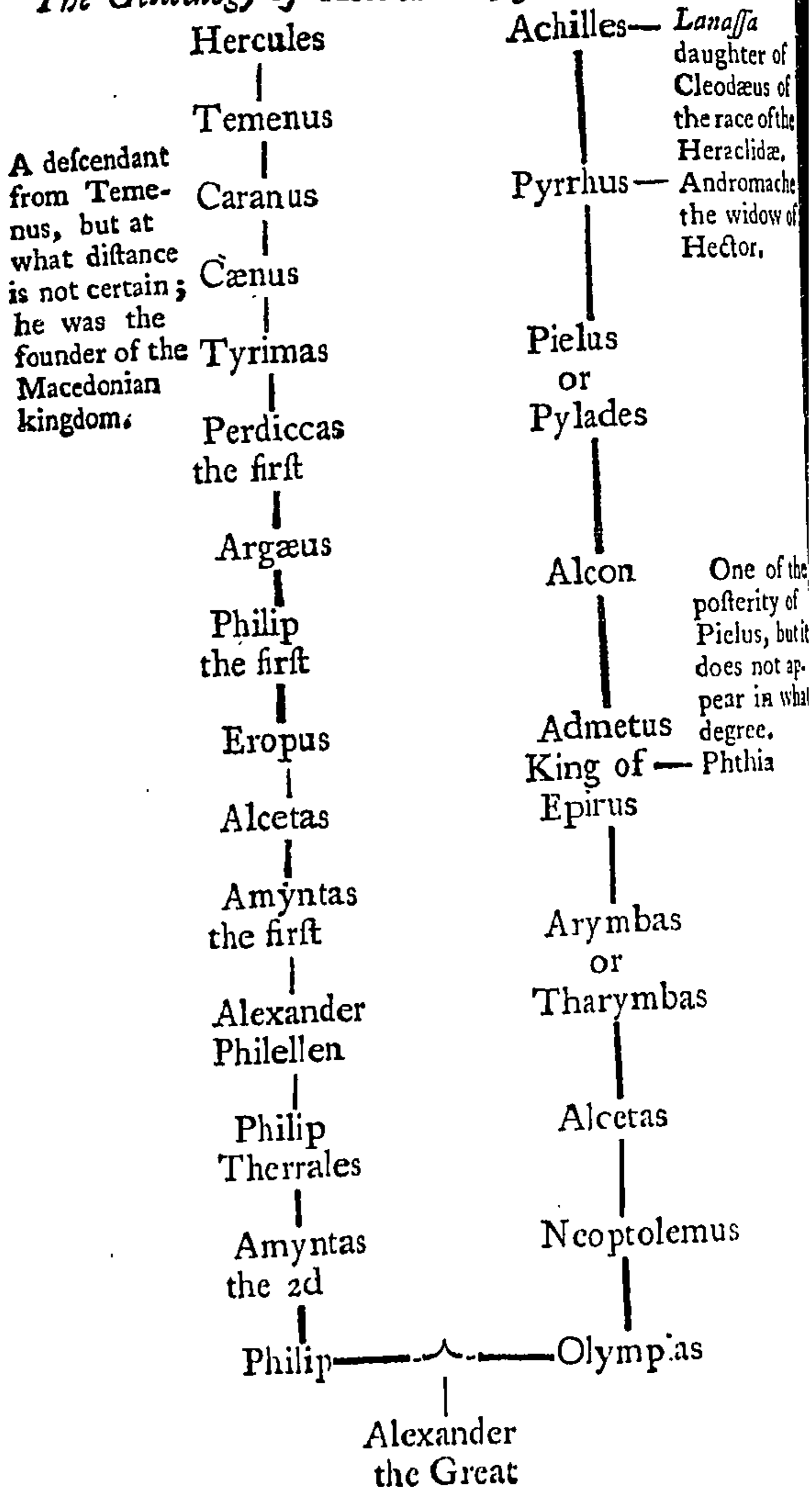
As to the style of Curtius 'tis very elegant, and yet pure, and intelligible. Tho' he is decry'd by some severe cenfors, as too florid for an historian, too fond of descriptions and hyperbole's, and affecting a rhetorical and declamatory manner, rather than a grave and plain narration: yet he is highly valu'd by others of the best judgment, and equalled to, if not preferr'd before, the most celebrated of the Roman historians. And the orations he draws up, and the reflections he makes, are generally recommended as instructive, and serviceable to the interests of virtue and morality, as well as those of civil policy, and common life. His method is much approv'd, and his preserving the thread of his history entire without breaking it, by introducing foreign subjects, or entangling it by long and useless digressions, but always enlivening his account by beautiful figures, and making it acceptable and entertaining by the smoothness of his expressions, and engaging the attention of the reader, and moving his passions, by a judicious representation of the circumstances that attended every action or event. So that you seem a spectator of whatever he describes, and feel a concern for the distress which he relates in so affecting a manner. When he introduces his hero's exciting their soldiers to behave themselves gallantly, he inspires every breast with courage and resolution. We have an eminent instance of the worth of this author, the pleasure that arises from his history, and the influence

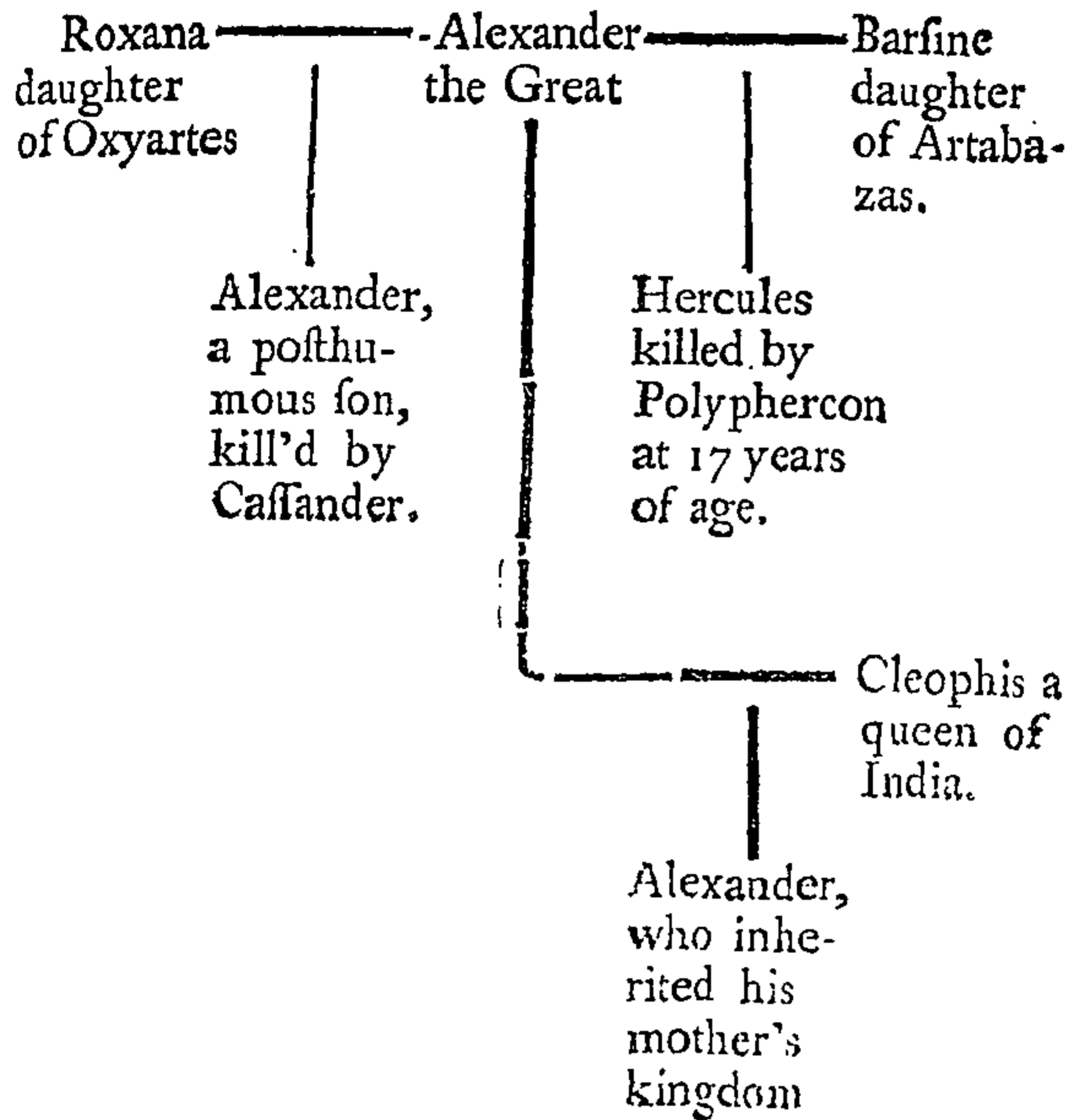
influence he has over the minds of those who examine his work carefully, in Alphonfus the son of Ferdinand, who added Naples to the dominions of the kingdom of Arragon : When this prince labour'd under an indisposition at Capua, and could receive no benefit by the medicines administer'd by his physicians, to employ himself in his confinement, and divert his pain, he chose that his attendants should read to him ; and was so entertain'd and delighted with Panormita's reading of Curtius, that after the failure of medicines, he sensibly found he ow'd his recovery to the composure of his mind, and that agreeable amusement which this author afforded him. So that when the physicians art became useless, the historian took place ; and accordingly this monarch rejected the assistance of Galen and Avicenna, and attributed all the success to Curtius. The veracity of Curtius is impeach'd by the same malevolent and bold criticks who accuse his style and manner of writing, as though he were a most fabulous and legendary writer, and frequently related facts with such circumstances, as carried along with them their own confutation, and were manifestly inconsistent, as improper for the place and climate where they are said to have happen'd. But if they would recede a little from that absolute dictatorial power they have assum'd, and change the propensity they have to condemn, into a spirit of candor, they would allow the apology he makes for himself, that he follow'd the Greek writers who had transmitted to his time these accounts, and that he might do justice to them, frequently set down what they had deliver'd, though he thought the account incredible, which in some particulars he has expressly declared. But if the reader desire
a more

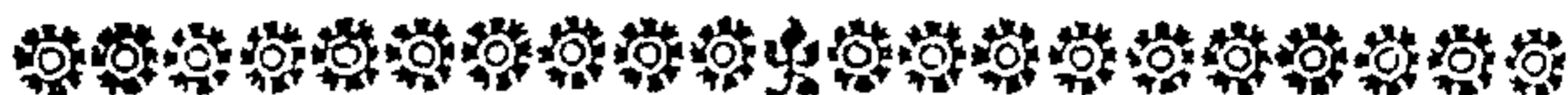
a more full information in these points, he may consult the treatise of the learned Ja. Perizonius in vindication of Curtius, to which as worthy of his perusal we refer him.



The Genealogy of Alexander, from Reineccius.







The Epitome of Alexander's Life, by Raphael Volteran.

THERE have been an almost infinite number of Greek writers who have transmitted to posterity an account of the life and exploits of Alexander the son of Philip king of Macedon; for instance, Clitarchus, Polycrates, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Istus, Aristobulus, Chares, Hecataeus Eritreus, Philip the Chalcidian, Duris the Samian, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip, Hifangelus, Antisthenes, Menechmus the Sicyonian, Nymphis of Heraclea, Potamon the Mitylenæan, Sotericus Asites, Arrian, Plutarch, and of the Latins Quintus Curtius. I shall sum up what they have deliver'd in a short abstract. Plutarch says he was born on the eighth of the ides of April, but the latin translator of that author makes it about the ides of August; where the mistake lies I am not able to determine. The governors of his youth and exercises were Leonidas a kinsman of his mother Olympias, and Lysimachus the Halycarnassæan. Afterwards he had Aristotle for his preceptor, who instructed him in learning, whom he constantly affected, and being wonderfully delighted with the knowledge of natural philosophy, he sometimes complain'd of him in his letters to him, for making his books concerning that science publick to the world; and was answer'd, that he had indeed published them, but that by reason of their obscurity it would be the same thing as if they had never seen the light. At sixteen years of age, upon his father's expedition to besiege Byzantium, he was sent back to govern the kingdom in his absence.

absence. After whose death, being twenty years old, he made his first expedition against the Thebans, and after the defeat of their army demolish'd their city, and made a peace with the Athenians, tho' they heinously repented the destruction of Thebes. When he came to the Isthmus every one went to meet him, except Diogenes the Cynic; Alexander wondering at his moroseness, came to him when he was sunning himself, and ask'd him if he had occasion for any thing, and his answer was "Yes, that you may remove out of the way of the sun beams;" upon which Alexander turning to his followers said, "If I were not Alexander, I could have wisht to have been Diogenes." Being desirous of empire, he divided all his paternal estate amongst his friends, and leaving Antipater to command at home, he first pass'd over the Hellespont and came to Troy, and taking notice of Achilles's tomb, he pronounc'd him happy, in having Homer the herald of his praises. Afterwards marching against Darius, as far as the river Granicus, which is one of the entrances into Asia, the king's lieutenants opposing his passage engag'd with him, and he obtain'd the victory, with the loss of twenty thousand of the enemy, and of thirty four only of the Macedonians. Then marching towards the sea-coast, he subdu'd the countries of Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Phænicia, and afterwards the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians. In passing the Cydnus, which is a river prodigiously cold, he contracted a distemper, which suspended a while his prosecution of the war. But in a little time recovering by the care of his physician Philip, he return'd to the camp, and again gave battle to Darius, who had brought an army of six hundred thousand men into the field, whom he overcame with the slaughter of eleven thousand of the enemy, and possess'd himself of their camp, and pursu'd the king in his flight five stadia;

and when his wife and daughters, who were taken prisoners, were brought to him, he behav'd himself towards them with modesty and honour. After this, being charm'd with the pleasant situation of the place, he order'd Alexandria to be built on the sea-shore in Egypt, and march'd himself through a vast desert to the temple of Jupiter Ammon ; being the only prince, except Cambyfes, who had arriv'd there. In his passage many thousands of his men were buried in the sands, which were driven by the force of the south wind. When he came to the temple, being flatter'd by the priest, he imagin'd that he was the son of Jupiter. At last he march'd against Darius who had recruited his forces a third time, and entirely routed him, and put a period to the Persian empire ; he then conquer'd Babylon, and the whole country about it ; and preparing to pursue Darius, he receiv'd intelligence that he had been taken by Bessus his favorite, and was slain by his servants ; upon which he order'd the body to be convey'd in royal robes to his mother to be buried, and executed Bessus his murderer. Darius at his death petitioned the gods that they would crown Alexander with success, whom tho' an enemy he had found more merciful than his own subjects. Thence marching into Parthia, and passing over the river Orexartes (which is the Rha, taken by Alexander for another Tanais,) he attack'd the Scythians ; but being afflicted with a Diarrhæa, he desisted from the further prosecution of that enterprize. Here he met Thalestris queen of the Amazons (as Justin assures us) who came a journey of thirty five days for that purpose, and was reported to have gone back with child by him. He then proceeded towards India, and exhorted his soldiers not to be dispirited, because the short fatigue they had to undergo would procure the Macedonians the empire of the world and everlasting honour. King Taxiles first came to meet him

him with presents ; and after crossing the river Hydaspes he conquer'd another Indian king call'd Porus, who oppos'd him with an army, and after his defeat when he was in his hands restor'd him his freedom. Porus was four cubits and an hand high. In the battle Bucephalus happen'd to be kill'd, in memory of whom Alexander caus'd a city to be erected upon the Hydaspes, call'd Bucephalia. In those countries he is said to have engag'd in conversation with many of the Gymnosophists ; among which one whose name was Calanus follow'd him, and causing a pile to be made burnt himself alive. Alexander after this fitted out a fleet under the command of Onesicritus and Nearchus, to compass and discover the coast of India on the right ; and himself return'd back through the midland countries, and being tormented with a pain in his bowels came again to Babylon, and there being seiz'd with a fever died without any symptom of poison, in the thirty third year of his age, and was carried to Alexandria by Ptolemy with great solemnity, proper for the funeral of so great a monarch. He was greedy of wine to such a degree that he destroy'd the chief of his friends in his drunken fits. He kill'd Clitus, because in table-talk he preferr'd his father Philip before him ; and order'd Philotas and Parmenio to be put to death upon suspicion of treason ; and had Callisthenes the philosopher and near relation of Aristotle, who had been one of his dearest friends, cut in pieces in a barbarous manner, through a jealousy of his being concern'd in Hermolaus's conspiracy, and because he refus'd to adore him. He was in other respects so eminent for his chastity, that except his wife and Berfene a widow of Damascus, and of royal parentage, he had no communication with women ; and he refrain'd from the embraces of Roxane his wife, the daughter of king Oxyartes, until

all the customary ceremonies of marriage were perform'd. And Aristobulus affirms that the reports concerning his drunkenness were all false; but because he us'd to talk pretty much when he sat drinking, he fell under that censure. He was so temperate in his diet that he us'd to say a night's march was the best sauce for a dinner, and a short and sparing dinner gave the best relish to a supper. The great things he achiev'd in so small a compass of time abundantly show how great his diligence was, and that he omitted no opportunity of action. The first thing he did in the morning was to offer sacrifice: if he had any spare time he bestow'd it either in hunting, or reading, and that chiefly of Homer, whom he us'd to lay under his pillow at night. He sometimes refresh'd himself by making entertainments; thus after the overthrow of Darius all his officers brought their mistresses to a banquet, of which number was Thais, by birth an Athenian, whom Ptolemy was afterwards violently enamour'd of: when she requested Alexander at supper that he would burn the palace of the Persian kings, because they had wasted her country with fire, he immediately gave orders that it should be done. He was so averse to unnatural desires, that he provided for the education of thirty thousand young men in military discipline, and severely reprimanded a certain person who promised to procure him a beautiful youth; and us'd to say that venery and sleep were the most convincing proofs of mortality.



The account of the division of the empire and conquests of Alexander the great, after his decease, being very short and imperfect in Quintus Curtius; it was conceiv'd, that the more full and exact relation of Freinshemius, collected from the most approv'd authors, would be very acceptable to the readers of this translation, and it is accordingly inserted in this edition.

ARIDÆUS, as Curtius informs us, was appointed over the whole empire with royal authority, or rather, with the bare name of king; with whom agree Diodorus Siculus, Appian, Dexippus in Photius, and Eusebius, Arrian in Photius, and the Latin-barbarous chronological extracts: but the author of these, reading that he was constituted ruler of all the Macedonian empire, imagin'd that the Macedonian kingdom only, as contain'd within its ancient boundaries, was assign'd him, but that the whole empire was divided into four parts; which perhaps he had from St. Jerom, who fell into the same mistake upon the eight chapter of Daniel, whom according to custom he follows at all adventures.

Amyntas, son of Nicolaus, as I conjecture, was over the Sogdians. Justin, 13. 4, 23. according to the correction of that author, propos'd under the account of Archon, for which reason Curtius must intend him amongst those whom he speaks of who com-

manded in India, Bactriana, “ and over the Sogdians, “ and other nations bordering on the ocean or red-sea, “ and were to hold the power of jurisdiction with the “ same limitations they had formerly held the same.” For he was governor of the Sogdians, B. 8. c. 2. p. 65. and of the Bactrians. Arrian: 4. 3, 14.

Antigenes was set over Susa. (See below in Susiana.)

Antigonus, son of Philip, appointed over Pamphilia, Lycia and Phrygia. Curt. Diodor. 18. 2. Appian, Syriac. Arrian. B. 1 & 9 in Phot. Who also mentions the Lycaonians, B. 9. where this share is confirm'd to him. Dexippus allots him Pamphylia and Cilicia as far as Phrygia; but the passage seems to have been corrupted, and the syllable *και* to have been heedlessly repeated, and *και κυλικων* put for *και λυκίαν*, since 'tis certain the same author in Eusebius expressly assigns Lycia to him, and the lesser Phrygia. Cedrenus also gives him Cilicia, as far as mount Taurus. Justin in his 13 B. C. 4. speaks only of Phrygia, the Latin-barbarous chronology adds all the rest. Antigonus “ had the country towards the “ north and towards Hyrcania bestow'd upon him.” Afterwards he reign'd over almost all Asia, as the force-cited authors declare, and with them, the additions to Eusebius, in the succession of the kings of Macedon.

Antipater was governor over the Macedonians, Thessalians and Thracians, under Alexander, as B. 10. C. 4. p. 183. and he was also made general of the army in Europe. Arrian. B. 1. in Phot. (in Macedonia and Greece Justin.) Diodorus says that Macedonia with the neighbouring nations were assign'd to him; all which amounts to the same. Dexippus in Photius, B. 82. reckons up all Macedonia and Greece, and the Illyrians and Triballi and Agriani, and all the other inhabitants of the continent (of Europe) over whom he had been constituted general

ral with full and fovereign power by Alexander in his life-time. The fame author in Eusebius joins his fon Caffander with him as his partner in the government. Arrian tells us that the regions beyond Thrace, as far as the country of the Illyrians, Triballi, and Agrians extends, and Macedonia it felf, and Epirus as far as the Ceraunian mountains, together with all Greece, fell to Craterus and Antipater. The Latin-barbarous chronology gives this account; Antipater was appointed to rule over Spain, to the river Alyus, and the Herculean boundary. What he means by Spain, I cannot comprehend. I am perfwaded he could not intend Iberia, tho' I find it fet down in the margin by a great editor, who did not fo much value thefe trifles, as to confider feriously of them. Perhaps the Greek author faid that *τα' εσπέρεια*, the western parts of the empire, were affign'd to Antipater, which he tranflated Spain, becaufe he found that country was fometimes call'd Hefperia. By the river Alyus he feems to mean Halys, and by the Herculean boundaries the pillars of Hercules. The Eusebian tables enumerate the Pontic region among the dominions of Antipater, upon what authority I cannot imagine, for Cedrenus took it from them; but Antipater himfelf not long after having diftributed the provinces according to his own pleasure, retain'd to himfelf his firft fovereignty over Europe. Diod. 18. 38. Arrian l. 9.

Arcefilaus enjoy'd Mefopotamia, Diodor. Cedrenus. He is call'd Archelaus by Dexippus, erroneoufly as is fuppos'd: for it is Arcefilaus alfo in Juftin. But in Orosius, about the latter end of the 3d book, 'tis Arcelaus; and poffibly it might be Archelaus the fon of Androcles, whom Arrian mentions. 3. 6. 6.

Archon had Babylonia, according to Diodorus, from whom a moft corrupt paffage in Juftin may be rectified, where almoft all is confounded and mifplac'd, as we fhall fee prefently. Here then we ought to

read, Archon the Pellæan (for so Orosius calls him) obtain'd the government over the people of Babylon. This was certain in respect of the province of Babylon, that it fell to Archon, and not to Peucestes, to whom the ignorant copists ascribe the people of Babylon, leaving out the Persians. That he was call'd the Pellæan from his country, is but a conjecture. It was commonly wrote Archos the Pelasgian, as tho' the name of the person were Archos, and the Pelasgi were the province to which he belong'd, which is evidently a mistake. In some manuscripts it is Argos Pellagas; for which reason I am inclin'd to think that the name of his country was added, and that this Archon was a Macedonian born in Pella: which opinion is corroborated by a remarkable passage of Arrian. 3. 10. Archon son of Clinias, Demonius son of Athenæus, &c. These were Pellæans. It cannot reasonably be believ'd that the person here spoken of was different from our Archon, therefore the whole passage in Justin ought to be restored in this manner. Amyntas had the Eacians assign'd him, Philip the Sogdians, Stagnor the Parthians, Phrataphernes the Hyrcanians, Tlepolemus the Armenians, Peucestes the Persians, Archon the Pellæan the Babylonians, Arcefilaus Mesopotamia. Thus every one may perceive it ought also to be amended in Orosius.

One Aridæus, according to Arrian and Diodorus, was constituted governour of Phrygia by Antipater, after he had transported the body of Alexander into Egypt; but 'tis plain from many places of Diodorus in his 18th book that it was not Aridæus the king, as is affirm'd in Justin 13. 4. 6.

Atropates was set over the greater Media, as Orosius informs us, by whom he is call'd Atropatus, but by Justin Acropatos, and by Diodorus erroneously Atropes, as Bongarsius observes. He had been before made governor of Media by Alexander, (Arrian. 4.

3. 18.) who made a match between his daughter and Perdiccas. (Arrian 7. 1. 19.) 'Tis a gross mistake in Justin, and Orosius, to say that Acropatos was set over the greater Media, the father-in-law of Perdiccas over the lesser. Whereas leaving out the lesser it would stand rightly thus, Acropatos, the father-in-law of Perdiccas, was set over the greater Media.

Cassander son of Antipater was sent into Caria. Curtius, Diodorus, Justin. Orosius, Arrian B. 1. in Phot. For in the 9th book and in the extract of Dexippus he is falsely nam'd Afander, as Andreas Schottus observes. The Latin-barbarous author seems to aim at Caria's being bestow'd upon Cassander, tho' he expresses himself very inconsistently and improperly. Cedrenus gives him Lycia towards the Hellespont, or as it should rather be read Lycia and the Hellespont, as it is in the Eusebian tables. Justin also when he mentions him speaks of his commanding the king's life-guards, which possibly he might do afterwards, and Justin might not refer it to its proper time. For he was appointed general of the horse by his father (Arrian. l. 9.) and upon his death enjoy'd the kingdom of Macedonia: on which account 'tis probable that Dexippus in Eusebius supposed that he was his father's colleague in that government. Cleomenes was added to Ptolemy, to be invested by him in the government of the province of Egypt, which had been assign'd to Ptolemy. (Justin) For the charge of building Alexandria had been committed to Cleomenes, not as an architect, (in which respect he is wrongfully confounded with Dinocrates) but as a lieutenant, or rather, as our author relates, B. 4. 8. 5. as treasurer of the revenues of Africa, and Egypt: and as some things in Justin may admit of a dispute, Dexippus may very properly explain what the other delivers so obscurely. Cleomenes who was preferr'd to this satrapy (of Egypt) by king Alexander, was appointed

as a vicegerent to Ptolemy. Which Arrian also confirms. Pausanias reports that he was afterwards put to death by Ptolemy for favouring the interests of Perdiccas.

Clitus receiv'd Lydia from Antipater (Arrian. l. 9. Diodor. 18. 39.) who could be no other than that haughty spark in Plutarch in his 2d oration of the fortune of Alexander, whom we read of in the 8th book of this history ; which also Justin confirms, when he says the care of the navy was devolv'd upon Clitus, for then he gain'd the naval victory of which Plutarch and Justin speak. See Diodor. 18. 72.

Craterus the son of Alexander, of that part of Macedonia call'd Orestis (Arrian indic. 10, 12.) had been sent into Europe by Alexander's order, to be governor of the Macedonians, Thessalians and Thracians, as in B. 10 ; but the king dying in the interim, he was constituted keeper of the royal treasure, (Justin) and the care of Macedonia and the neighbouring realms were recommended to him, together with Antipater, (Arrian) and he was also invested in the office of guardian of the king's person (Dexippus.) Eumenes son of Hieronymus a Cardian (Arrian Ind. 3. 12.) in L. Ainsel. erroneously call'd Carduenus, had Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, with injunctions that he should defend that country as far as Trapezus, and should make war with Ariarathes, who alone refus'd to become subject to the Macedonians, and retain'd his royal authority while Alexander was employ'd in distant expeditions ; (Curtius) for so it ought to be read, by inserting a conjunction after the verb *defenderet* (which also Sigonius restor'd in Livy from the manuscripts ;) the province of the Bruttii was decreed to both, and that they should make war with Hannibal. That it ought to be Ariarathes and not Arbatres, is manifest from Plutarch in his life of Eumenes, c. 5. Arrian, Dexippus, Diodor. l. 3. and Appian's Mithridat.

Mithridat. The Latin-barbarous author tells us that Paphlagonia in Cappadocia had Eumenes the scribe for king. Justin says the same, but the additions to Eusebius ascribe to him only Cappadocia, with which Cedrenus as usually concurs; afterwards Perdiccas added the Carians, Lycia and Phrygia to his kingdom. (Justin 13. 6. 14.)

Laomedon the Mitylenæan had Syria with Phenicia (Curtius, Diodor. Justin, Oros. Dexipp. Arrian.) from whence he was driven afterwards by Ptolemy. Diod. 18. 43. Appian. Mithrid. Although Antipater seems to have confirm'd his satrapy to him in the other division related by Arrian. l. 9.

Leonnatus the son of Eunus a Pellæan (Arrian. Ind. 3. 12.) obtain'd the lesser Phrygia adjoining to the Hellespont. (Curtius, Justin, Diodor. Arrian. Dixipp) Probus in Eumenes, Perdiccas set him over that part of Asia which lies between mount Taurus and the Hellespont: the additions to Eusebius, Pausanias's Attica, Appian's Syriacis. The latin-barbarous writer thus, 'Tis said that Leon reign'd over Pontus, which must be understood of the Hellespont.

Lysimachus son of Agathocles a Pellæan (Arrian. indic. 3. 12.) was directed to possess Thrace and the Pontic countries bordering upon Thrace (Curtius, Diodor. Cedrenus) the country which lies to the right when one sails over the Euxine sea. Dixippus in Eusebius, for in Photius he assigns him Thrace, and Chersonesus, as Arrian adds, as far as Salmydessus a city on the Euxine sea.

Meleager the son of Neoptolemus (Arrian. 3. 2. 24.) according to Curtius and Arrian, he was slain before the division was made, which I am inclin'd to believe: for Perdiccas could not have had so absolute a power had he been alive; 'tis no wonder therefore that writers disagree about the province that fell to his share; when none could be conferr'd upon him

him after his decease. Cedrenus with the Eusebian additions give him Paphlagonia; Diodorus, Lydia; the Latin-barbarous author Coelesyria and Phœnicia.

Menander was sent into Lydia (Curtius; Justin, Dexippus, Arrian) or rather was order'd to return to that command which Alexander had honour'd him with.

Nearchus son of Androtimus a Cretan (Arrian, indic. 3. 12.) enjoy'd Lycia and Pamphilia. (Justin.)

Neoptolemus of the race of the Æacidæ. (Arrian. 11. 5. 11.) was appointed over Carmania, (Dexippus) but I question whether it ought not more truly to be read Armenia, from Plutarch's life of Eumenes, ch. 7. although 'tis even uncertain what his name was. Tleptolemus, according to the emendation of Justin, was made ruler of the Armenians, though the manuscript read also Neoptolemus. But in Diodorus and Arrian. 1. 9. Tleptolemus is the person who was made ruler of Carmania; we shall speak of the name hereafter.

Nicanor is nam'd in Justin, and yet the manuscripts of that author very much perplex the matter, from whence you may make out any other sooner than Nicanor. Nay, they seem to express the name of one Stagnor, to whom he says the Parthians were committed, the 41. B. 5. 1. but in the other partition, Antipater gave Cappadocia to one Nicanor. (Arrian. 1. 9. Diodor. 18. 39. Appian of the Mithrid. War.) There was another Nicanor, viz. Seleucus call'd also Nicanor, upon his marching to Babylon and subduing the Barbarians (Cedrenus.) But we have no concern with him at present.

Oropius possess'd part of Sogdiana (Dexippus.)

Oxyartes, or Oxathres the father-in-law of Alexander, got Bactriana (the Eusebian Addit. Cedrenus) the Parapamisadæ, says Diodorus, 19. 14. who also makes him the king of the Bactrians. The Latin-barbarous

barous writer says Oxydareus was appointed to reign over Parapamisodus. So also Dexippus, Arrian, and Justin, if you read him thus. Oxyartes had the Parapamisadæ which bound mount Caucasus, which Bongarsius perceiv'd from Diodorus.

Perdiccas son of Crontes a Macedonian of Orestis (Arrian. indic. 3. 12.) dividing the empire at his will (Curt. Arrian, Appian, Justin) assum'd to himself the office of attending upon the king and commanding the forces that follow'd the king, that is, of being king himself (Curtius) whence he was suppos'd to have obtain'd the kingdom of Macedon, by Cedrenus and Jornandes in his Get. c. 10. who also adds the government of Athens; and because of this power Arrian and Diodorus make him the king's deputy. The Latin-barbarous writer calls him Generalissimo. Dexippus in Eusebius places him over the greater Phrygia, if that be really an extract from Dexippus, for in Photius he concurs with Arrian.

Peucestas son of Alexander a Mizæan. (Arrian amended indic. 3. 11.) who was made chief governour of Persis by Alexander, (Arrian. 6. 5. 1) continued in that province. (Diodor. Justin amended) the Latin-barbarous writer, he (Perdiccas) gave all Persis to Percus. Antipater also confirm'd him in this command. (Arrian. B. 9.)

Philip was appointed over Dragæna (Cedrenus) or rather Drangiana, as in the Eusebian additions which Cedrenus seems to follow; 'tis Drangine in Diodorus, tho' Drangæne in Cedrenus. Diodorus gives Bactriana and Sogdiana to Philip, whom the Latin-barbarous calls the less, he bestow'd the dominion of Togdiania (he means Sogdiana) upon Philip the less. With whom agree both Dexippus and Justin, if you read, Philip had for his part the Sogdians, Stagnor the Parthians, Phratafernes the Hyrcanians, &c. Which reading will as well reconcile that author to himself, as

I other

other historians ; but if we chuse to join the Parthians with Philip, we may refer it to the future division made by Antipater in Arrian. B. 9.

Philo had the Illyrians. (Justin, Orosius) Cedrenus, and the Eusebian addit. allot him Media. But other historians will convince us that Pithon ought to have been wrote instead of Philo ; for they don't mention any Philo. So that he is scarce to be counted among the captains of Alexander, upon the single authority of Justin, and that liable to the suspicion of being a false reading.

Philotas got Phrygia as far as the Hellespont at first (Diodor. 18. 12.) and afterwards Cilicia. (Curt. Arrian, Diodor. Dexip. Justin, Oros.) The Latin-barbarous says, he (Perdiccas) decreed to Philo, Cilicia and Isauria, and all that those tracts contain. This province was taken from him not long after, (Justin. B. 13. 6. 16.) on account of his friendship for Antigonus, as may be consider'd from Diodorus 18. 62 ; but he was plac'd over Cilicia. Philoxenus (Justin) it was he I suppose who was made lieutenant of the sea-coast under Alexander. (Plutarch. c. 37.) Antipater confirmed him in that province. (Arrian B. 9.)

Phrataphernes was governor of Hyrcania under Darius. (Arrian. 3. 27.) he surrendered himself to Alexander, as our author relates, B. 6. by whom he was reinstated in his command. B. 8. 71. where instead of the Mardi and Tapuri, 'tis probable we ought to read the Parthians, from the forecited passage of Arrian, and Cedrenus, who says that Parthia and Hyrcania fell to him in this distribution of the provinces ; but 'tis certain, that he was only continued in the government he had before, and that no new accession was made to it. And this both Diodorus and the Eusebian additions confirm. Justin and Dexippus assign him only Hyrcania, and in the latter he is corruptly nam'd Radaphernes.

Pithon

Pithon son of Agenor, whose name is often also wrote with a y ; of whom the Latin-barbarous speaks after this manner, he enjoin'd that India from Indus extending to the river Hydaspes should be the dominion of Python, which may be interpreted from Dexippus. One Pithon (the son of Agenor, for he had before spoke of the son of Crateas) rul'd over the countries bordering upon them (meaning Forus and Taxiles) excepting the Parapamisadæ. (Justin, Orosius.) Pithon the son of Agenor was sent to the colonies settled in India ; in which place of Justin they confound him with the other Pithon. His portion was also confirm'd by Antipater (Arrian. B. 9.) those coasts of India which join to the Parapamisadæ were given to Pithon the son of Agenor ; for they had been deliver'd to him by Alexander himself (Arrian. 6. 3. 9.)

Pithon the son of Crateas or Cratevas an Alcomænan, (Arrian. Indic. 3. 11. who also makes him an Eordæan. 6. 5. 9. Diodorus, a Parthian, 19. 14. but it ought rather to be wrote a Parthinian, of which nation Appian makes mention in his Illyric wars, and whom Reineccius cites in the kingdom of Illyria) was ordered to take Media. (Curtius, Diodor. Dexippus and Arrian, in both the places just mentioned.) Against whom, the authority of Cedrenus and the Eusebian additions, who assign him Phrygia and Lydia, are of little weight, or that of the Latin-barbarous writer, who seems to allow him Syria as far as Mesopotamia.

Porus retain'd his kingdom. (Justin, Orosius by implication, and Dexippus expressly) Arrian gives the reason, B. 9. of the next Satrapies, that which lies upon the river Indus and the city of Palala, which is the principal of that India, came into the hands of king Porus ; but that which lies upon the river Hydaspes was given to Taxilas who was also an Indian, it not

not being feasible to displace them, because being advanced to empire by Alexander himself they had acquired a sufficient degree of power to maintain themselves in their dignity ; which we may conceive of other rulers of provinces, who were almost always established in their first authority. (See Diodor. 18.39.)

Ptolomæus son of Lagus an Eordæan, (Arrian. 6. 5. 9.) commander in chief of the nations of Egypt and those of Africa, which had submitted to the Macedonian yoke. Cedrenus, the Eusebian additions, Justin, Orosius, Constantine, Manasses, Diodorus, Dexippus, and Arrian in both places, say almost the same thing. The Latin-barbarous writer tells us, he (Perdiccas) gave Ægypt and the country that surrounds it as far as the upper Lybia, to Philip who was call'd Ptolemy ; which he repeats a little after. 'To Ptolemy, who was call'd the son of Philip, for we have seen that he was reputed to have been begotten by that king, B. 9. p. 155. Antipater confirm'd his portion also ; for if he had intended it, he would scarce have been able to wrest it from one of such vast power. (Diodor. 18. 39. Arrian. B. 9.)

Scythæus is publish'd in the copies of Justin, but the place is corrupted, nor will any one, I believe, be able to produce a person of that name among the officers in Alexander's army.

Seleucus the son of Antiochus (Justin 15. 4. 3.) enjoy'd Syria and Babylon. (Cedrenus, the Eusebian additions, Dexippus, Latin-barbarous, Appian.) But Arrian, and Diodorus 18. 3. 9. inform us, that it was not thus order'd until the second division : tho' L. Ampelius ascribes it to the first, and yet in fact Archon had acquired the Babylonians of Perdiccas, as was shown above, and in this distribution he was made general of the cavalry of the allies, which Hæphestion first enjoy'd and afterwards Perdiccas, and which was a post of the highest honour. He is call'd
com-

commander of the horse of the allies by Appian and Diodorus, (see also Dexippus and Arrian on this subject) and therefore Justin interprets his office, the tribuneship of the camp. Afterwards beginning from Babylon he held the kingdom of Persis, and encreas'd his empire prodigiously (Marcellin. 14. 26.) so as that he reign'd over more nations than any single person after Alexander, (Appian's Syriacs.)

Sibyrsius, call'd by Diodorus 19. 14. Sibyritus, got Arachofia and Gedrosia. (Diodor. Dexippus, Justin) the Latin-barbarous writer informs us, that Siberta was appointed to rule over Arachusia and Cedrusia, and Antipater confirm'd him in his sovereignty. (Arrian. B. 9.) Antigonus gave him the command of the Argyraspidæ who betray'd Eumenes. (Plutarch's life of Eumenes, c. 34) for Bongarsius upon Justin in this place reminds us, that it ought to be read Sibertius instead of Ibertius. He was before advanc'd to the government of these countries by Alexander. (Curtius B. 9. p. 164.)

Stasander a Cypriot obtain'd Aria and Drangina from Antipater. (Diodor. 19. 14. Arrian.) which he possess'd before.

Stasanor a Solian of the same country, (Diodorus, Dexippus, Justin.) who afterwards receiv'd Bactria and Sogdia at the hands of Antipater. (Arrian. Diodorus.) The Latin-barbarous writer imposes Arabia upon us instead of Aria, who assures us he gave all Arabia to Stasanor.

Taxiles retain'd his sovereignty, as well as Porus.

Tlepolemus son of Pytophanes, held Carmania by the donation of Alexander. (Arrian. 6. 5. 1.) Wherefore Cedrenus causelessly confers Persis upon him, and is to blame in calling him Tripolemus after the Eusebian additions. For 'tis evident from Diodorus that Perdiccas assign'd him Carmania. The Latin-barbarous writer also mentions Germania, that is Carmania, as
Tripolemus's

Tripolemus's portion ; but Dexippus confers it on Neoptolemus ; but 'tis apparent from what has been said, that the name is mistaken by both of them, as might be further proved from Arrian in Photius B. 9. and Diodorus 18. 39. where we find his title to this province assured by Antipater : and yet he is call'd Polemon by the same Diodorus, 19. 14. after all 'tis hard to distinguish between Carmania the province of Tlepolemus, and Armenia which fell to Neoptolemus, the names of the men and places being so liable to be confounded by the likeness of the sound.

Thus you have an account of the chiefs among whom the branches of that vast empire were divided : but for a more full information of this most considerable event, we shall recite the provinces in the same alphabetical order, and the persons to whom they were deliver'd. Which tho' it be an unpleasant task, and requires a good deal of labour (for straitness of time is generally the complaint of one that has it to lose) yet for the sake of posterity, and the advantage which may be perceiv'd to result from it, we have freely submitted to it. Only it must be remembered that the greatest part of these separate provinces in a little time were swallowed up in a few great kingdoms, as that of Macedonia possessed by Antipater, Asia by Antigonus, Egypt by Ptolemy, Syria by Seleucus, Thrace by Lyfimachus, and India by Sandrocottus, who far surpass'd the rest of their fellow-soldiers in power, and the length of their lives.

Ægypt therefore, which was entrusted to several lieutenants by Alexander, (Curtius B. 4. p. 226.) was wholly committed to Ptolemy after his death, whose descendants reign'd there until the days of Augustus.

Africa, as far as it had been subdu'd, was also given to Ptolemy ; of whose family Ptolemy furnam'd Apion bequeath'd the kingdom of Cyrene, which he possess'd,

possess'd, by will to the people of Rome. (Justin. 39. 5. 2.)

The Agrians were enjoin'd to submit to Craterus and Antipater. After the death of Craterus, they together with the other augmentations of the Macedonian kingdom came under the sole dominion of Antipater.

Arabia, as far as Alexander's conquests reach'd, was allotted to Ptolemy; yet, as Appian avers, Seleucus possess'd the greatest part of it.

Arachofia was long under the jurisdiction of Sibyrus; but afterwards was annexed to Seleucus's territories.

The region of Arbelitis, according to Diodorus, 18. 39. and Arrian, was deliver'd to Amplimacus, but soon after it came under subjection to Seleucus, together with the adjacent provinces.

Aria was first given by Perdiccas to Stasanor; afterwards it was put under the dominion of Stasander. There was about two years interval between these divisions.

Armenia, as Justin seems to relate, fell to Tleptolemus, or rather to Neoptolemus, as we shew'd under that article; in process of time that kingdom also submitted to Seleucus. (Appian.)

Asia called the less almost entirely own'd Antigonus for its lord, of which he was appointed the inspector and administrator, (Appian) as did also Assyria for a while. For which reason the anonymous author in Eusebius believ'd that it was assign'd to him upon the first distribution.

Archon seems to have held Babylon at first, but Seleucus possess'd himself of it soon after, and gloriously recover'd it after it had been invaded by Antigonus.

The further Bactria, as Justin says, kept its former governors, which Curtius and Arrian confirm. Among whom Oxathres or Oxyartes the father-in-law of Alexander

ander was most considerable, to whom some give the title of king of the Bactrians. Therefore we must understand the hither Bactria to be intended, when we are told either that Philip, or Amyntas, or Stasanor was invested with the sovereignty of that country by the Macedonians. Seleucus is reported to have afterwards made himself master of the whole.

Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather titularly conferr'd upon him, for it was then in the enemies power (Probus) namely Ariarathres, who being slain, when Eumenes also was proclaim'd an enemy by the Macedonians, one Nicanor was set over that province after it was wrested from the other. In the end Seleucus became master of it.

Caria was assign'd to Cassander, (Diodorus 18. 3.) and soon after to Eumenes (Justin 13. 6. 14.) of which together with his life he was depriv'd by Antigonus.

Carmania, first granted to Tlepolemus, seems soon after to have been added to the dominions of Seleucus.

Chersonesus together with Thrace was subject to Lyfimachus. (Dexippus. Arrianus.)

Cilicia a country of very large extent seems to have been divided into several parts, of which Antigonus got that which lies toward Phrygia, unless there be a mistake in the writing of Dexippus and others as I before suggested; we may more truly affirm that the whole was first bestow'd on Philotas, and soon afterwards on Philoxenus, and in the conclusion Seleucus reduc'd it under his subjection.

Drangiana according to some accounts fell to Philip; but more and better writers assign it to Stasanor who is call'd Statanor by Justin; in the other division it was dispos'd of to Stasander.

Epirus with Macedonia belong'd to Antipater.

Sibyrtius had Gedrosia.

Greece came to Antipater, and afterwards to Polyperchon

rchon. (Justin 13. 6. 9.) but because it was furrender'd by Antipater to his son Cassander, Dexippus in Eusebius, and the Latin-barbarous writer were induc'd to think it had been originally granted to the latter. Hyrcania remain'd under Phrataphernes, who being either expell'd, or dead, it was annexed to Seleucus's dominions. The Latin-barbarous writer groundly ascribes it to Antigonus.

The Illyrians seem in Justin to have been put under the authority of one Philo; but the reading is corrupt: it is undoubted that they, together with Macedonia, continued subject to Antipater.

India for the most part obey'd Taxiles and Porus, with the addition of some other countries, which did not before belong to their dominions. 'Tis certain that Pithon the son of Agenor held the provinces contiguous to the Parapamisadæ, that is, the colonies planted in India as Justin explains it. Alexander's own settlements, as Strabo calls them, B. 15. and he relates that they were afterwards dispos'd of by Seleucus to Sandrocottus, who at this time possess'd the largest realm of India. (Justin 15. 4. Appian.) Arrian calls him Sandocontus. 5. 1. 25.

Isauria according to the account of the Latin-barbarous writer was decreed to Philotas with Cilicia. And the neighbouring situation of these countries makes it probable.

Lycaonia was given to Antigonus. Arrian B. 9. and the adjoining province of Lyfia; which Cedrenus, and the Eusebian additions, in vain reckon in Cassander's share, and Justin allots to Nearchus. Perseus being desirous to force it from Antigonus, pass'd it away to Eumenes, but the former prevail'd and kept it.

Lydia is by many given to Menander, by Diodorus to Meleager, by the Eusebian additions and Cedrenus

drenus to Python. It fell into the hands of Antigonus upon the expulsion of Clitus, to whom Antipater had committed the government of it.

Macedonia was dispos'd of to Craterus, and Antipater, under whose power it continu'd after the death of the former. He transmitted it to Cassander, to whom for that reason it was reported to have been assign'd, by Dexippus in Eusebius and Appian. Cedrenus who confers it on Perdiccas, and the Latin-barbarous writer who gives it to Aridæus, do not mean the land of Macedonia, but the rule of the empire.

Media was committed to Atropates by the authority of Alexander, who afterwards, by reason of his affinity with Perdiccas, became more potent than he could have been of himself; therefore although Python was appointed over Media, yet Atropates first by the permission of the Macedonians, and afterwards in spite of them, retain'd part of it, which was call'd from him Atropatia. (Strabo B. 11.) Seleucus afterwards possess'd the rest, having destroyed Nicanor, Antigonus's lieutenant, according to Appian.

Mesopotamia, after Arcesilaus and Amphimachus, had Bliter for its governor, by the appointment of Antigonus, but in the end it became subject to Seleucus.

Palæstine in the Eusebian additions is reckon'd as part of Antigonus's share. But 'tis manifest from Josephus, and others, it obey'd Ptolemy, together with the adjacent part of Syria; yet Antigonus had expell'd his garrisons; (Appian.) and for a long time the dominion thereof was contested between the kings of Syria of the race of Seleucus, and the Ptolemys of Egypt.

Pamphylia was assign'd to Antigonus, who maintain'd it against Eumenes.

Paphlagonia and Cappadocia had the same masters

The Parapanisadae were committed to Oxyartes
from

from whom they seem to have been taken by Sandro-cottus.

Parthia was put into the hands of Phrataphernes, afterwards it was deliver'd to Philip, or according to Justin to Stagnor. At last it fell to Seleucus.

Patala was bestow'd on Porus. (Arrian. B. 9.)

Persis as some pretend was the portion of Tripolemus (they seem to mean Tlepolemus) but the more judicious confer it on Peucestes; afterwards it became subject to Seleucus, with all the countries that encompass it.

Phenicia with Syria, and probably Palæstine, fell to Laomedon's share. (See Syria.)

Antigonus enjoy'd the greater Phrygia, and Leonnatus that which lies upon the Hellespont. There are some that give it to Python, Cassander, Perdiccas or Philotas, whom I suppose mistaken; Perdiccas afterwards added it to Eumenes's lot, but Antigonas being more potent retain'd it. After Leonnatus was dead, Pontus for the most part undoubtedly appertain'd to Lyfimachus, for whom some writers seem to have falsely inserted Antipater, or Leonnatus; yet Eumenes held some part of it. The limits of each may be learnt from Curtius, Dexippus and Arrian.

Sogdiana was first bestow'd on Philip, or Amyntas, and then on Stasanor. But Dexippus invests Oropius with this command, a man unknown to all other historians. At last Seleucus seiz'd upon it.

Sufiana, after Perdiccas's death, was conferr'd on Antigenes (the commander of the *Argyraspidae*) as a reward of his services by Antipater. (Arrian. B. 9.) for whom by an evident mistake 'tis read in Diodorus 18. 30. Antigonus. A like error to which we have corrected in Curtius B. 8. p. 114. Diodorus himself speaks of the satrapy of Antigenes, 18. 62. We may gather from Plutarch, that he was a Pellœntean (of the fortune of Alexand. 2. 15. 16.) unless perhaps

we ought to read Pellæan. The same person we take to be mention'd by that author in the life of Alexander, c. 120.

Syria was decreed to Laomedon, whom Ptolemy dispossess'd, but was himself again driven out by Antigonus. At length Seleucus made himself entirely master of it, to whom therefore Dexippus in Eusebius, with Cedrenus, believ'd it to have been immediately dispos'd of. The Latin-barbarous writer divides it between Python and Meleager, but it does not appear that he had any authority for it.

The Tapyri, after the loss of their Satraps, together with the Parthians and Hyrcanians, fell to Seleucus. (Appian.)

Thracia indeed was allotted to Lyfimachus, who also possess'd himself of a great part of it; yet there still remain'd some free nations with their kings, by one of which, called Seutha, he was taken prisoner. (Plutarch. Apothegm. c. 49.) for he was slain as Arrian seems to write. So that since that historian himself frequently makes mention of him afterwards, it is evident that the word *κυνέειν* must signify *was defeated*, and not *kill'd*.

The Triballi with Macedonia submitted to Antipater.

Raderus's *Tables of the Division of Alexander's Empire amongst his Followers.*

THE authors who wrote of the transactions after Alexander's death were Diodorus in his 18th book, Dexippus, and Arrian in Photius, and Justin in his 13th book; lastly, we have the prophecies of Daniel, and some passages in the beginning of the Maccabees. This division we shall set down in tables, that every thing may appear more plainly, which Andreas Schottus compos'd and publish'd in his translation of Photius, to which we shall adjoin some others omitted by Schottus; and in the first place shall propose that of Curtius, next of Diodorus Siculus, then those of Dexippus, Arrian, Justin and Orosius.

The assignment of kingdoms and provinces according to Curtius.

The King	} was to have	The supream command.
Ptolemy		Egypt, and the nations of Africa that were subdu'd
Laomedon		Syria with Phænicia.
Philotas		Cilicia.
Antigonus		Lycia with Pamphylia and the greater Phrygia.
Cassander		Caria.
Menander		Lydia.
Leonnatus		Phrygia the Less bordering on the Hellespont.
Eumenes		Cappadocia with Paphlagonia to Trapezus.
Pithon		Media.
Lyfimachus		Thracia and the Pontic kingdoms adjoining to it.
Perdiccas		The chief command of the Forces which attended upon the king.

The partition according to Diodorus Siculus, who introduces it in this manner : The Macedonians having chosen Meleager their leader, advanc'd under arms against those that oppos'd their demands, and when the king's guards marching out of Babylon prepar'd themselves for battle, they who were most esteem'd by them prevail'd upon both sides to come to an agreement, and immediately they chose Aridaeus the son of Philip, who had also taken the name of Philip, their king, and appointed Perdiccas, to whom the king had delivered his ring at his death, administrator of the kingdom, and enjoin'd the chief of Alexander's friends and commanders to take the charge of the provinces, and to yield an obedience to the king, and Perdiccas ; who having obtain'd the supream power, and calling a council of the principal officers, determin'd as follows :

Aridæus the king.

Ptolemy	}	In Asia	}	Egypt.
Pithon				Media.
Eumenes				Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and the adjacent regions.
Antigonus				Pamphylia and Lycia, and Phrygia the Great.
Cassander	}	committed to	{	Caria.
Meleager				Lycia.
Leonnatus				Phrygia towards Hellespont.
Lysimachus				
Antipater	}	In Europe he committed to	{	Thrace with the neighbouring kingdoms to Pontus.
				Macedonia with the nations bordering upon it.

To

To the other commanders the rest of the the provinces of Asia.

To Oxyartes . Father-in-law to Alexander the Great. To Sibyrtius To Stasanor, Solinus	} India and the pro- vinces that lay next to India.	{ Caucasus and the Para- pamisadæ. Arachosia and Gedrosia. Ariana and Drangianæ.
Philip the Prætor Phrataphernes Peucestes Tlepolemus Atrapas Archon Arcefilaus Seleucus	} To	{ Bactriana and Sogdiana. Parthia and Hyrcania. Persis. Carmania. Media. Babylonia. Mesopotamia.
Taxiles and Porus		{ The royal cavalry which Hæphestion formerly and afterwards Per- diccas commanded. Each their own king- doms restored to them by Alexander, and augmented and left in their possession.

The king kept Perdiccas with him, and made him captain of his guards and general of the forces which followed him.

The Division of the Provinces of the Empire of Alexander the Great, made by Perdiccas in Arrian.

When in the first place by agreement between the infantry and cavalry,

Antipater had been constituted general of the army in Europe.

Craterus Protector of Aridæus's kingdom.

Perdiccas commander in chief of the forces in the room of Hæphestion.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy the son of Lagus was appointed governor of Egypt and Lybia, and that part of Arabia that lay next Ægypt.

Cleomenes	} Was directed to govern	} As deputy to Ptolemy.
Laomedon		
Philotas		
Pithon		
Eumenes the Cardian		
Antigonus		
Cassander		
Menander		
Leonnatus		
		Syria
		Cilicia.
		Média.
		Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the countries on the Euxine Sea to Trapezus.
		Pamphylia, Lycia, and the Greater Phrygia.
		The Carians.
		The Lydians.
		Phrygia upon the Hellespont.

And thus was Asia parted amongst them.

In Europe,

Lyfimachus	} Was directed to govern	} Thrace, Chersonesus, and all the realms adjoining to Thrace as far as to Salmydessus upon the Euxine Sea.
and		
Craterus		
		All the countries beyond Thrace as far as the Illyrians, Triballians and Agrians, and Macedonia, and also the realms from Epirus to the Ceraunian mountains, and all Greece.

The

The other division of the provinces by Antipater,
from the same Arrian, p. 127.

Ptolemy	} Enjoy'd	Ægypt, Lybia, and the desolate region which was beyond them.
Laomedon the My-telestean		Syria.
Philoxonus		Cilicia.
Amphimachus		Mesopotamia and Arbele.
Seleucus		Babylonia.
Antigenes		The satrapy of Susiana.
Peucestes		Perfis.
Tlepolemus		Carmania.
Pithon		Media as far as the Caspian passages.
Philip		The country of the Parthians.
Stasander		The province of the Arsii and Drangeni.
Stasanor the So- lian		Bactria and Sogdia.
Sybirtius		The Arachosi.
Oxyartes father of Roxana		The Parapamisadæ.
Pithon son of A- genor		The country bordering upon the Parapamisadæ.
Porus the Indian		The kingdoms upon the river Indus, and the city Patala.
Taxiles the In- dian		The provinces upon the river Hydaspes.
Nicanor		The Cappadocians.
Antigonus		The greater Phrygia, the Lycaonians the Pamphylians and Lycians as before.
Asander		Caria.
Clitus		Lydia.
Aridæus		Phrygia upon the Hellespont.
Antigenes		The collection of the tribute of the Susians.

Autolicus son of Agathocles	} Had the charge of the King's person.
Amyntas son of Alexander, and brother to Peucestes	
Ptolemy son of Ptolemy	
Alexander son of Polysperthon	

Cassander

Callander the son
of Antipater
Antigonus

}
The
}

The command of the horse.
The command of the forces formerly
given to Perdicas, and the king's
guard.

The division of the Macedonian empire made by Per-
dicas, from Dexippus, p. 116.

Ptolemy

Cleomenes
Laomedon the
Mitylenæan
Philotas
Phiton
Eumenes

In Asia
there fell
to

Antigonus

Asander
Menander
Leonnatus

Lyfimachus
Antipater

Craterus

Perdicas

All Ægypt and Lybia,
and the country be-
yond Ægypt.

The vicegerency under
Ptolemy.

Syria.

Cilicia.

Media.

Cappadocia, Paphlagonia,
and the regions to-
wards the Euxine Sea,
as far as Trapezus.

The Pamphylians and Ci-
licians; as far as Phry-
gia.

The Carians.

The Lydians.

Phrygia upon the Helle-
spont.

Thrace and Chersonesus.
All the Macedonians,
Greeks, Illyrians, Tri-
ballians, Agrians, and
Epirus.

The high office of go-
vernor and guardian
to the king.

The post of general,
formerly enjoy'd by
Hæphestion.

Porus

Porus	In India there fell to	They people between the river Indus and Hydaspes.
Taxilas		The rest of the Indians.
The other Pi- thon		The neighbouring na- tions, except the Pa- rapamisadæ.
Oxyartes the Bactrian, the fa- ther of Roxane		The people at the foot of the mountain Cau- casus next the Indi- dians.
Sibyrtius		The Arachosians and Gadrosians.
Stasanor the So- lian		The Arai and Drangi.
Philip		The Sogdians.
Radaphernus		Hircania.
Neoptolemus		Carmania.
Peucestes		The Persians.
Oropius		Part of the Sogdians.
Seleucus		The Babylonians.
Archelaus		Mesopotamia.

The partition of the Macedonian provinces,
from Justin, Book XIII.

Ptolomy	Recciv'd from Perdic- cas	Egypt, and-part of A- frica and Arabia.
Laomedon the Mitylænean		Syria.
Philotas and his son		Cilicia and the Illyrians.
Atropatos		The greater Media.
Alcetas brother of Perdiccas.		Media the Less.

Scynus

Scynus
Antigonus the
brother of
Philip
Nearchus
Cassander
Menander
Leonnatus
Lyfimachus

Eumenes

Seleucus the son
of Antiochus
Cassander the
son of Anti-
pater.
Taxiles

Pithon the son
of Agenor
Parapomenus

Extarches
Statanor
Amyntas
Sythacus
Nicanor
Philip
Phratafernes
Tlepolemus
Peucestes
Archos
Archefilaus

Receiv'd
from Per-
diccas

The people of Sufiana.
The Greater Phrygia.

Lycia and Pamphylia.

Caria

Lydia.

The Lesser Phrygia.

Thrace and the countries
of the Pontic sea.

Cappadocia and Paphla-
gonia.

The chief command of
the army.

The command of the
king's guards.

The kingdoms between
the rivers Indus and
Hydaspes.

The colonies planted in
India.

The confines of the
mountain Caucasus.

The Drancæ.

The Argæans.

The Bactrians.

The Sogdians.

The Parthians.

The Hyrcanians.

The Armenians.

The Persæ.

The Babylonians.

The Pelasgæ.

Mesopotamia.

Orosius in the preface to his history of the division, says that the Macedonian leaders, after the death of Alexander, having obtain'd the several provinces, destroy'd themselves by mutual wars ; which most tumultuous juncture I consider'd, as tho' I were viewing from some eminence by night a prodigious camp, wherein through a great tract of land I can discern nothing but a numberless multitude of allies. For so through the whole Macedonian empire, that is through all Asia, and many parts of Europe, and most of Libya, the dreadful flames of war appear'd. Which when they had principally consum'd the places in which they raged, disquieted all other countries by the terror of report, as with the darkness of their smoke : but it would be in vain to pretend to explain the wars and ruin of so many great monarchs and kingdoms ; unless I first describe the kingdoms, and the persons who reign'd over them. Alexander therefore for twelve years brought the trembling world into subjection by the power of the sword, and his princes harra's'd it for fourteen years like ravenous whelps, tearing the bulky prey, which had been taken by a mighty lion, and mangled each other while they were provoked to quarrel by covetousness of the spoil. In the first place then Egypt and part of Africa and Arabia was allotted to Ptolemy, Laomedon receiv'd Syria a province bordering upon this, Philotas Cilicia, and Philo the Illyrians. Atropatus was set over the Greater Media, the father-in-law of Pardiccas over the Less. The nation of Susiana was assign'd to Scynus, the greater Phrygia to Antigonus the son of Philip. Nearchus obtain'd Lycia and Pamphilia, Cassander Caria, and Menander Lydia. Leonnatus had the lesser Phrygia ; Thracia and the coasts of the Pontic sea were given to Lyfimachus ; Cappadocia with Paphlagonia to Eumenes ; the chief command of the forces fell to Seleucus, the son of Antiochus ; Cassander the son of Antipater was plac'd over the king's guards

guards and household troops. The governors which were first made by Alexander in the further Bactria and India, continu'd in their posts. Taxiles had the Seres, situated between the two rivers Hydaspes and Indus. Pithon, the son of Agenor, was sent to the colonies planted in India. The Parapami bordering on the mountain Caucasus fell to Oxyartes. The Arachosii and Gedrosii were delivered to Sibyrtius. Stasanor had the Drangæ and Arei, Amyntas the Bactrians. Scythæus got the Sogdians, Nicanor the Parthians, Philip the Hyrcanians, Phrataphernes the Armenians, Tlepolemus the Persians, Peucestes the Babylonians, Archon the Pelasgi, Arcelaus Mesopotamia.

The first chapter of the first book of the Maccabees mentions no certain number, the 8th and 9th Verse, “ and his servants bare rule every one in his place, “ and after his death they all put crowns upon themselves ; so did their sons after them many years, “ and evils were multiplied in the earth.

Holy Daniel the prophet informs us in his writings that the kingdom of the king of the Greeks was divided into four kingdoms. (c. 8.) and still more clearly in the same eight chapter, ver. 20, 21, 22. “ The “ ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the “ kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the “ king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between “ his eyes is the first king ; now that being broken, “ whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall “ stand up out of the nation but not in his power.”

Which place St. Jeroni, and from him N. Seravius, Cornelius de Lapide, and others, expound of the four principal kings, and kingdoms, Antigonus of Asia, Philip or Aridæus of Macedonia, Seleucus of Syria, and Ptolemy of Egypt. But St. Jerom seems to have transcribed this from Josephus, (B. 12. c. 1.) putting Aridæus for Cassander, who succeeded him, and omitting Lyfimachus.